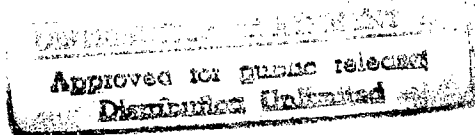


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DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM



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FOREWORD

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DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

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REORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

by V.A. Zelentsov

The building of socialism in any country is impossible without a domestic industry. This well known contention of Marxist-Leninist theory also fully applies to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Workers' Party of Vietnam and the government of the DRV (Demokraticeskaya Respublika V'yetnam--Democratic Republic of Vietnam) attribute special significance to the development of the national industry. "In bringing North Vietnam to socialism, our principal task is the development and transformation of the national economy along a socialist path, the transformation of our country from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial country and then into a blossoming socialist industrial state"¹--this was pointed out in the resolutions made by the 8th session of the National Assembly DRV.

Industrialization will allow the republic to create a material basis for the building of socialism, it will serve as a basis for raising the material and cultural level of the Vietnamese people, it will resolve the employment problem, it will lead to a development of the productive forces of the country, assure the consolidation of new production relationships and strengthen the country's defense capabilities. The development of industry will alter the class structure of the Vietnamese society, will lead to a further expansion of the working class and to an intensification of its consciousness.

What are the possibilities for an industrial development in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam?

Nature endowed North Vietnam with rich deposits of various useful minerals. The country is rich in coal deposits, its surveyed deposits are estimated at one billion tons. It is possible to construct a number of hydroelectric power plants along the rivers of North Vietnam, which would produce 25 billion kilowatt hours of electric power.² North Vietnam contains deposits of various ores. Some of the surveyed deposits contain industrially valuable deposits of iron, manganese, tin, zinc, copper, lead, chrome, bauxite and others.³ The combination of fuel-power and mining resources creates favorable conditions for the metallurgical industry. The DRV also has extensive potentials for the development of the building and chemical industries, in the production of cement, lumber, lime, fertilizers, artificial fiber, dyes, plastics and so on.

Agriculture forms a rich raw material base for the light industry, which, in addition to grain products, furnishes a great variety of industrial crops, including cotton, jute, ramie, sugar cane, coffee, tea, oil producing and other crops, as well as livestock products. The population of North Vietnam is 15,900,000. The village can always provide the necessary manpower for industry.

During the period of colonial domination, despite favorable conditions, Vietnamese industry was very poorly developed. The French colonizers established mining enterprises in the country exclusively, which were engaged in extracting raw material and enterprises principally for the processing of agricultural products. There were absolutely no metallurgical, machine building or any other branches of heavy industry in the country, which form the basis of industrial development.

The overall share of industrial production did not exceed one tenth of the gross national product.⁴ All of the large and the majority of the smaller enterprises were under the colonizers' control. The share of capital belonging to the national bourgeoisie in the total volume of capital investments in industry and transportation did not exceed 1%.⁵

During the Second World War and during the War of Resistance this poorly developed industry was undermined. Most of the large enterprises were destroyed, and the few enterprises that were spared were destroyed by the retreating enemy. Violating the Geneva agreements French troops moved the most valuable machinery and tools, equipment, raw material, technical data and materials to South Vietnam.

Therefore by the time peace was restored the industry of North Vietnam was almost entirely paralyzed, tens of thousands of workers found themselves without work. In 1954 the production of electric power came to 43.5% as compared with the prewar level, that of coal--17.2%, phosphates--17.7%, tin--12.8%, cement--2.7% and cotton fabrics--15.7%. Total devastation prevailed in industry, agriculture and transportation. In addition to that Vietnam was artificially split into two parts, which of course further complicated the task of restoring and developing the national economy on the whole and the industry in particular.

After the restoration of peace the Workers' Party and the government of the DRV established the task of healing the wounds caused by war within the shortest period of time. With respect to industry the main emphasis was placed on the development of the light industry. A resolution of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam (September 1954) pointed out that "At the present time it is necessary to devote attention to a rapid restoration and construction of a number of enterprises which will produce commodities of primary importance to the population, of enterprises for the repair and maintenance of the means of transportation and certain enterprises of the light industry.

All this will require small capital investments and will be effective in the matter of resolving problems that are of vital importance to the people."⁶.

During the period from 1955 to 1957 the majority of large enterprises were restored and a number of new industrial projects were constructed with the assistance of the fraternal countries, first of all that of the Soviet Union and of the People's Republic of China. The handicraft and petty industries were considerably developed. Over a three year period some 281,000,000 dong were appropriated for the restoration and development of industry.⁷

As a result of the restoration and development of industry, towards the end of 1957 it accounted for 33.6% of the gross product of industrial and handicraft production and of agricultural production.⁸ The output of present day industry, however, amounted to only 9.3% of the gross product of the republic.⁹ These figures indicate that after the restoration of the national economy North Vietnam still remained a country with a poorly developed industry.

In 1958, after the restoration of the national economy the republic undertook a large scale program of economic construction. At the present time the DRV is successfully executing its first Three Year National Economic Plan, which stipulates a considerable increase in both agricultural and industrial production on the basis of socialist transformations. It is true that based on national peculiarities, the plan devotes principal attention to agricultural development, but at the same time it is directed at a further development of the industry.

The directives pertaining to the Three Year Plan state-- "...Along with the transformation and development of agriculture we must devote serious attention to the development of industry as well, we must apply all our efforts in order to increase the number of industrial projects and to expand industrial production for the purpose of enlarging the production forces of society, achieving an improvement in the life of the people and consolidating the alliance between the working class and the peasantry."¹⁰.

With respect to industry the Three Year Plan stipulates primarily the development of the branches of heavy industry, as contrasted with the tasks promulgated during the period of restoration. "At the present time we must devote our attention simultaneously to the production of the means of production and to the production of consumer goods, giving preference to the production of the means of production."¹¹.

The necessity for a rapid development of heavy industry is dictated by a number of circumstances. First of all agriculture and increased capital construction demand an increased number of means of production. In the second place the light industry is also in need of an increase in the production of the means of production. In addition to that the DRV, which has considerable deposits of valuable minerals at its disposal, by coordinating its production with the economy of the other socialist countries, can

expand the extraction of mined wealth to satisfy not only its domestic needs but to use it for export as well.

The production of consumer goods is being developed further. The demand for consumer goods is increasing, particularly by the peasantry, as a result of the rapid development of agriculture. The increase in the production of consumer goods within the country will permit a curtailment of their importation along with an increase in the importation of the means of production.

According to the Three Year Plan for 1958-1960 690,000,000 dong are to be invested in industrial construction, or 46.5% of all the appropriations for capital construction and for the development of the economy and culture. 70% of this amount is designated for branches of the "A" group. A total of 96 new industrial projects will be constructed including 56 enterprises of the heavy industry. By 1960 the value of the gross industrial production and handicraft production will amount to 1,736 billion dong, i.e. it will increase by 47.7% as compared with 1957; the average annual growth of industry and handicraft production will come to 23.1%.¹² In 1960 the overall volume of production of the old and new industrial enterprises will amount to 732,000,000 dong, i.e. it will increase 216.7% by comparison with 1957, including an increase of 213% for group "A" and 219.1% for group "B". The relationship between group "A" and group "B" in gross production will amount to 38.3% and 61.7% respectively.¹³ The modern industrial enterprises will account for 40.8% of the cost of production of the combined overall industrial and handicraft production.¹⁴

The planned development of industry, which was undertaken by the DRV on a basis of the law of an even and proportional development, will lead to a rational distribution of industrial enterprises, and will bring them closer to the sources of raw material. New industrial centers are developing in the republic in the process of the fulfillment of the Three Year Plan: Vinh, Thai Nguyen, Phay Thoa, Viet Chin and others. The capital of the DRV, Hanoi, is undergoing a change in its appearance; it is transforming into the largest industrial center. The cities of Haiphong, Nam Dinh and others are gradually being industrialized.

The most important factor which assures the successful development of industry in the DRV is the consolidation and development of the socialist sector in industry, which is called upon to perform the leading role in the country's economy. The state sector is gradually becoming the dominant one in industry. The state industry provides most of the important means of production to the national economy and most of the consumer goods; it is conducive to a further development of technology and pushes the private industry towards a path of socialist transformation.

The state industry of the DRV started forming during the War of Resistance. During the period between 1946 and 1954 through great efforts the republic created 19 state enterprises, primarily of important to the matter of defense. They were semi-handicraft

workshops which utilized costly manual labor. After the restoration of peace the state took possession of 11 old enterprises-- the Hon Gay coal mines, the Haiphong cement plant, the Nam Dinh cotton combine, machine shops, several electric power plants and others. With the assistance of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and that of other fraternal countries some 50 new enterprises were constructed.¹⁵ Among the newly constructed projects are: the thermal electric power plants at Vinh, Lao Kay, Thanh Hoa, Thai Nguyen, and Phu Thoa, two hydroelectric power plants at Tha Shah and Nha Ngan, all of which considerably increased the power supply to the industry of the DRV. The Hanoi machine tool plant, the tin combine at Tinh Thouk, a plant for the repair of agricultural equipment and other enterprises constructed with the assistance of the Soviet Union, formed the basis for a machine building industry in the DRV. The Hanoi machine tool plant is the first machine building plant in Vietnam. It is provided with the latest equipment and is capable of conducting metal cutting, and metal processing lathes, machines, motors as well as a variety of equipment for industrial enterprises, for agriculture, and for transportation, it is able to repair machinery and so on. The plant is of great importance in the technical reconstruction of other industrial enterprises of Vietnam. The enterprise in group "A" that is second in size to the one just described, which was also constructed with the assistance of the Soviet Union, is the tin combine at Tinh Thouk; it formed the foundation for non-ferrous metallurgy in the DRV. Modern techniques and progressive technology, which is used at the combine, permit the simultaneous extraction of tin, tungsten and gold. Four automobile repair workshops and ship repair shops were also constructed. A wharf for the construction of dredging barges and other small ships was built at Haiphong.¹⁶ In addition to that several enterprises for the production of building materials were created: wood working and plywood plants at Cao Duong as well as saw mills, brick and other factories. Several modern group "B" enterprises were also constructed, including two tea factories at Phu Thoa, a fish cannery at Haiphong, a pharmaceutical plant, a tobacco factory and other enterprises of the light industry.

The old enterprises were provided with new equipment. Modern machines and equipment were installed in machine shops at Chang Hyeng Thao, which were created during the War of Resistance, at the Zyalam plant for the maintenance of railroad cars and locomotives. The Hon Gay coal mines were provided with new equipment: new drilling machines, excavators, and motor transportation equipment arrived there from the Soviet Union and from other fraternal countries, which permitted an extensive mechanization of coal mining. At the present time the mechanization of work at the mines has increased 2.6 times as compared with the period of colonial domination.¹⁷ The extraction of coal increased from 500,000 tons during 1953-1954 to 2,166 thousand tons in 1959. 1,100 new textile

machines which were received from China were installed at the Nam Dinh cotton combine; as a result of that the machinery pool of that combine increased almost twofold and its production capacity became greater. New equipment was also provided for the Hoan Van Thuh paper mill, which led to a twofold increase in the amount of power available for it and in its production capacity.

As a result of the efforts put forth by the party and the government state industry assumed the basic position in the industrial production of the country. With the completion of the Three Year Plan for 1958-1960 the state industry will become significantly larger. In 1959 it accounted for 42% of the gross product of industry and handicraft production as compared with 25.5% in 1957.¹⁸

In the field of electric power--four electric power plants are undergoing expansion, in addition to that six new electric power plants will be constructed and 11 high voltage transmission lines with a capacity of 67 thousand kilowatts. The capacity of all the electric power plants will rise to 136 thousand kilowatts in 1960. Work is being conducted in the mining industry for the expansion and perfection of coal processing methods at Hon Gay and Cam Pha, of the apatite mine at Lao Cay and of the chromium mine at Coa Dinh. Mines for the extraction of iron ore, lime and lignite are being created in the provinces of Thainguyen and Quangyen. The first metallurgical combine with a production capacity of 100,000 tons of cast iron and steel per year is raised to 200,000 of metal per year. This enterprise must satisfy part of the country's requirements for rolled iron. In 1960 the DRV will produce an average of six kilograms of steel per capita instead of four kilograms as in 1959.¹⁹ The zinc mine at Theh Dien and the zinc smelting plant at Quangyen are being restored.

The machine tool plants and the maintenance-assembly shops are increasing the production of industrial equipment. The Hanoi machine tool plant and the locomotive and railroad car repair and maintenance plant at Zyalam are being expanded, and the construction of a ship building plant is nearing completion at Haiphong.

The Three Year Plan stipulates a considerable development of the chemical industry. The construction of plants for the production of liquid fuel, chlorine, poisonous chemicals, and fertilizers is nearing completion at Quangyen, including a plant for the production of superphosphate with a production capacity of 100,000 tons and a plant for the production of thermophosphate with a production capacity of 50,000 tons, as well as two plants for the production of nitrogen fertilizers with a combined production capacity of 27,000 tons per year. Beside that, additional phosphate plants are being placed into operation, which together with the old enterprises, will produce approximately 220,000 tons of phosphate.

The production of building materials will also be developed further. According to the Three Year Plan the capacity of the cement plant will come to 500,000 tons of cement per year; a brick factory will be built at Viet Chih with a production capacity of

three million bricks and 1,500,000 shingles per year, six enterprises with a combined capacity of 10,000,000 bricks and shingles per year and two concrete plants for the production of concrete beams, columns and various building materials will also be built. The production capacity of the wood processing and plywood plant at Cao Duong will be increased to 26,000 cubic meters of lumber and 3,000 cubic meters of plywood.

According to the Three Year Plan the production of fabrics will also be developed on a large scale.

The production capacity of the Nam Dinh cotton combine will amount to 60,000,000 meters of fabric in 1960; in addition to that a textile combine with a production capacity of 35,000,000 meters of fabric per year and a knitting factory are under construction at Hanoi. Many enterprises of the food industry are being placed into operation: three sugar mills with a combined capacity of 17,000 tons of sugar per year, 13 rice refining plants with a capacity of over 1,500 tons of rice per day and a tobacco plant. A paper mill at Viet Chih, with a production capacity of 20,000 tons per year; a plant for the production of tire casings, bicycle tires and tire tubes at Hanoi, a plant for the production of plastic items with a capacity of 200,000 tons per year and a glass factory at Haiphong, a chine plant at Haizyong will all go into operation in 1960. In addition to that plants for the production of veterinary preparations and a soap factory will be constructed. The printing and publishing industry will expand on a large scale.

The construction of new enterprises is conducive to a rapid growth of production by the state sector. In 1955 the value of production of the state industry amounted to only 23,000,000 dong whereas in 1956 it came to 150,000,000 dong, and in 1957--231,000,000 dong, i.e. the volume of production increased more than tenfold over a three year period.²⁰ By the end of 1960 the tempos of development of the state industry will increase considerably (see table).

Therefore by 1960 state industry will achieve significant successes.

The state industry of the DRV is becoming an important source of revenue. In 1955 profit taxes and income from taxes levied on state enterprises amounted to 5.8% of all the revenues of the state budget, whereas in 1957 they amounted to 23.6%, and in 1958--29.2% of the overall revenue.²² According to the Three Year Plan receipts from state industry will be the basic and greatest source of income for the state and will account for 36.6% of overall state budgetary revenue.²³ These figures serve as evidence of the fact that the state industry is confidently forging ahead and is conducive to the development of the entire national economy.

The constant expansion of the socialist sector in the industry of the DRV is one of the decisive conditions for the industrialization of the country, the consolidation of the people's democratic system and the construction of the bases of socialism in North Vietnam.

Development of State Industry of the DRV During 1957-1960.²¹

| | Unit of Measure | 1939 | 1957 | 1958 | 1960 plan | 1960 as compared with 1957 -- % |
|----------------|------------------------|-------|------|-------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| Electric power | Million kilowatt hours | 120.9 | 123 | 162.3 | 271 | 220 |
| Coal | Thousand tons | 2615 | 1088 | 1500 | 2700 | 244 |
| Tin | Thousand tons | ** | 104 | 223 | 430 | 413 |
| Chromium ore | Thousand tons | ** | 3747 | 5700 | 32000 | 854 |
| Apatites | Thousand tons | 98 | 66 | 139 | 400 | 607 |
| Phosphates | Thousand tons | 35 | 22 | ** | 65 | 295 |
| Cement | Thousand tons | 305 | 165 | 302 | 450 | 272 |
| Brick | Million pieces | ** | 31 | ** | 68 | 219 |
| Cotton fabric | Million meters | 20 | 27 | 34 | 49 | 180 |
| Paper | Tons | ** | 657 | 1335 | 6120 | 931 |
| Refined Rice | Thousand tons | ** | 16 | 105 | 340 | 2125 |
| Fish sauce | Million tons | ** | 1.75 | ** | 12 | 686 |
| Tea | Tons | ** | 1558 | 2100 | 2498 | 160 |
| Tobacco | Million packages | ** | 8.9 | 29.3 | 80 | 898 |

In order to quickly resolve some of the pressing tasks the republic allowed and encouraged private enterprise in industrial production during the years of restoration.

In 1957 there were some 3,889 purely capitalistic enterprises, which occupied approximately 86,000 persons, including 39,000 hired workers. The output of private industry accounted for 16.6% of the gross industrial product. The private capitalist industry included 160 large enterprises, each of which had an average of 40 workers, and ten enterprises with over 100 workers each. The basic mass (63%) of all the private enterprises consisted of small enterprises,

with an average of from four to six workers each. 2,412 enterprises were producing consumer goods, 1,447 enterprises were manufacturing the means of production, and the value of the output of group "B" in private industry was approximately five times greater than that of the output of group "A" enterprises.²⁴

The number of handicraft workers also increased considerably during the cited period. In 1957 there were 149,000 handicraft enterprises in North Vietnam which occupied 430,000 persons, which amounted to 84% of all the workers engaged in industrial production. In 1957 the handicraft industry manufactured over 46% of the entire output of the means of production, and produced 85.7% of all the means of agricultural production.²⁵ The handicraft industry accounted for over 63% of the overall output of consumer goods. In addition to that goods produced by the handicraft workshops accounted for 13% of all the exported goods.²⁶

The development of private production at that time performed a positive role--it assured a market for industrial goods and tens of thousands of unemployed received employment. In addition to that the development of private production was conducive to a transfer of the majority of the petty merchants into industrial production, i.e. it increased the number of people occupied in the sphere of the production of material goods.

The successful construction of the basis for socialism and the realization of socialist industrialization, however, is impossible without a creation of a unified socialist sector. Comrade Pham Van Dong pointed out that "The socialist order, the socialist economy cannot be based on different, antagonistic economic systems; it is therefore necessary to gradually transform all the economic systems into a unified socialist system, which will serve as a basis for the further development of socialist economy."²⁷

That is why the party and the government are directing their efforts towards a gradual transformation of the private sector. In this work, which was commenced during the period of restoration, the republic utilizes the wealth of experience acquired by the socialist countries and especially that of the Chinese People's Republic.

The policy of the Workers' Party of Vietnam with regard to private capitalist industry boils down to the utilization, restriction and transformation of the private industry. "To encourage and utilize the positive aspects of private industry and trade, which are helpful to the national economy and the people, and which make a contribution towards the restoration and development of the economy and the realization of the state plan. While at the same time to prevent a development of the negative aspects of the private capitalist industry and trade, which are harmful to the national economy and to the people. Step by step to reorganize private industry and trade, by extending assistance to the leading private industrialists and traders, and gradually, through state capital, to bring them to socialism."²⁸

During the period of the restoration of economy in the DRV the lowest forms of state capitalism were developed: the distribution of state orders among private enterprises for the production of commodities on the basis of fixed prices, the provision of raw material and materials through state trading to the private enterprises, and the purchase of finished products by the state from the private enterprises. These lowest forms of state capitalism provide the possibility of placing private industry in a position of dependence on the state and to exercise partial state control over the private enterprises. In 1957 the state controlled approximately 60% of the overall production volume of the private industry as compared with 25% in 1956, through the distribution of orders for the production of commodities at fixed prices and through the purchase of commodities.²⁹ During 1958-1959 these forms of state capitalism were developed further. However with the lowest forms of state capitalism, control by the state is not yet all encompassing, since the means of production remain in complete possession of the private capitalist sector, and certain capitalist methods of conducting the economy are preserved. A higher form of state capitalism, as commonly known, is a combined state-private entrepreneur activity. By the end of 1959 some 45% of all the private capitalist enterprises, 68% of enterprises on the basis of their capital and over 65% of the enterprises according to the number of employees, were transformed into combined state-capitalist enterprises.³⁰ It is planned to transform all of the large private capitalist enterprises as well as all those of importance to the government into combined state-capitalist enterprises and to amalgamate all other enterprises into cooperatives.

The transformation of the private capitalist sector affords the possibility to limit the effects exerted by the law of surplus value, to limit capitalist accumulation and to expand socialist accumulation, to liquidate the ties between private capitalist industry with private capitalist trade and to gradually place private capitalist industry under state control.

In the matter of transforming the handicraft industry the state is proceeding along a path of cooperativization of the handicraft workers. Cooperativization permits the liquidation of the exploitation of workers, introduces the handicraft workers to collective production, instills a socialist attitude towards labor, creates the conditions necessary for increasing the productivity of labor and improving the material state of the workers. Through various forms of cooperativization the state directs the development of the handicraft industry, limits the activities of the speculating elements, assures a gradual communization of the tools and means of production and strives to increase the productivity of labor.

Work in the cooperativization of handicraft workers, which started in 1958, has already yielded concrete results. In 1957 there were only 20 producers' cooperatives in the DRV, created as

an experiment, amalgamating only 950 handicraft workers, whereas by the first part of 1960 the cooperatives included over 200,000 handicraft workers or almost 60% of all the handicraft workers.³¹ A high level of communization was achieved at many of the producers' cooperatives, all the means of production are collective property, and the income is distributed on the basis of labor performed.³²

The predominant forms of cooperativization in 1959 were the lowest forms of amalgamation: marketing-supply and producers' groups, as well as groups of handicraft workers fulfilling government orders.

Every member of the groups which unite the handicraft workers for the fulfillment of government orders and the marketing-supply groups owns his own means of production and production is not yet centralized. All this interferes with a rational utilization of manpower, machinery, new technology; it also hinders a rise in the productivity of labor. Therefore the handicraft workers have not yet achieved the necessary increase in the productivity of labor, the fulfillment of plan assignments in the volume of production, quality and cost of production. Increases in the wages of handicraft workers and an improvement in their living conditions are rather limited under these forms of amalgamation.

At the present time the Workers' Party of Vietnam and the government of the DRV are introducing measures designed to develop higher forms of cooperativization of a semi-socialist and socialist type, which would permit an increased production. This year it is planned to basically complete the amalgamation of the handicraft workers into marketing-supply producers' cooperatives and into producers' cooperatives. The value of handicraft production will increase by 46.6% as compared with 1957 and will amount to 46.1% of the overall value of the combined product of industry and the handicraft industry.³³

In other words the handicraft industry continues to develop and performs an important role in satisfying the needs of the national economy and the population for many types of commodities. The overall share of the handicraft industry as well as that of the private industry in the gross industrial product is gradually decreasing, as substantiated by the following figures (in percent):³⁴

| | 1955 | 1957 | 1958 | 1960 |
|-----------------------------|------|------|------|------|
| State industry | 12.2 | 24.8 | 32.5 | 42.0 |
| Private capitalist industry | 87.8 | 16.6 | 13.6 | 11.9 |
| Handicraft industry | -- | 58.6 | 53.9 | 46.1 |

Therefore the development of state industry and the transformation of handicraft production and private industry are conducive to the liquidation of the private form of ownership and the adoption of a national and collective form of ownership of the means of production, to the establishment of socialist production relationships, the creation of a firm basis for the consolidation and development of the bases of socialism in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Along with the development of industry the working class is forming and developing, groups of skilled workers and engineering-technical workers are appearing. The creation of cadres is one of the most important problems of socialist construction in Vietnam. During the colonial period there were only 50,000 workers at 35 industrial enterprises in North Vietnam; most of these workers were merely unskilled laborers.³⁵ By the time North Vietnam was liberated even these groups of workers were disorganized. The factory-plant enterprises were there but the colonizers forced most of the skilled specialists and engineering-technical workers to move to the South.

The restoration and development of industry brought about an increase in the number of industrial workers. In 1955 the enterprises of the state industry had only 20,000 workers, whereas by the end of 1959 they numbered some 60,000.³⁶ During the period from 1958 to 1960 the size of the working class will expand further in connection with the development of industry and in 1960 it will include a total of over 400,000 workers.³⁷

The Workers' Party of Vietnam and the government of the DRV are manifesting considerable interest in the training of highly skilled personnel for the national economy. A number of educational institutions were opened in the country, including a polytechnical institute with room for 2,400 students, 38 technical trade schools and specialized schools which are attended by over 18,000 students.³⁸ Along with the creation of the technical trade schools and specialized schools short term technical courses were organized both for full time and part time students in order to raise the skill levels of the workers and to extend them a possibility of mastering a minimum of technological knowledge. Specialists from the fraternal socialist countries are very helpful in training the personnel. During the period from 1955 to 1957 over 10,000 skilled workers and 1,600 engineering-technical workers and workmen were trained in the DRV with the assistance of Soviet specialists. Over 2,000 students were sent for training at higher educational institutions and technical trade schools in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other socialist countries. Many Vietnamese workers undergo production practice and acquire working experience at leading enterprises in socialist countries.

As a result of the measures that were undertaken the number of skilled specialists is constantly increasing. In 1955, for instance, the enterprises under the jurisdiction of the Ministry

of Industry had only 30 engineering-technical workers whereas by the end of 1957 there were 1,039 of them, including 410 technicians and 29 engineers. In 1958 the number of technical workers with a secondary and higher education came to 600, and by the end of 1960 it will increase to 2,000.³⁹

The training of national cadres is inseparably associated with the struggle for an increase in the productivity of labor, which directly affects the wage level, the cost of production and the entire process of production. The creation of new enterprises and the reconstruction of the old ones, a rise in technological culture of the industrial workers assure the presence of conditions necessary for an increase in the productivity of labor. In 1958 most of the large enterprises fulfilled and overfulfilled the plan. The Hanoi machine tool plant overfulfilled the plan for 1958 by 6.4%,⁴⁰ the Chang Hyeng Thao machine tool plant--by 15%,⁴¹ the tin combine at Tinh Thouk--by 22.3%, the apatite mine at Lao Kay--by 2%, the tea factories at Phyl Thao--by 17.4%, the phosphate mines--by 23%; the extraction of coal increased by 38% as compared with 1957.⁴² The productivity of labor at the enterprises increased by 25.4% as compared with 1957, and the cost of production decreased by 7%. Production activity at the private enterprises also became more animated. On the whole the industrial and handicraft enterprises overfulfilled the plan for 1958 by 2.9% and increased the volume of production by 24.3% as compared with 1957; the state industry increased its volume of production by 40.4%.⁴³ Many state enterprises fulfilled the plan from one to two months ahead of schedule.

In 1959 the struggle to achieve an increase in the productivity of labor yielded new successes. The productivity of labor of the workers at the enterprises under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Industry increased by an average of 14.8%. The cost of production of certain commodities decreased by comparison with 1958. The productivity of excavators at coal mines in Cam Pha and Hon Gay increased by 8.8%-14.3%, that of the percussion machinery--by 14.9%-38.8%, the spindles at the Nam Dinh combine--by 9.5%, silk looms--by 20.6%, looms for the production of cotton fabrics--by 6.4% and so on. The furnaces for calcinating cement last 76%-80% longer, the looms--89%-97% longer, the spinning looms--90%-96% longer and so on.⁴⁴ According to the Three Year Plan the productivity of labor between 1958 and 1960 at the enterprises of the state industry will increase by 59%, the annual increase in the productivity of labor will amount to an average of 16.8%, 53.7% of the increase in the volume of production will be attained through an increase in the productivity of labor.⁴⁵

Production competition started in the DRV and gave impetus to the development of creative activity among the workers. Workers and employees employed at industrial enterprises contribute thousands of rational suggestions, designed to increase the productivity of labor, to conserve material resources and so on. Nguyen

Hung Minh, a worker from an automobile repair shop, for instance, adapted an internal combustion engine, which operated on gasoline, so that it functioned on mazout; in Nghean Province an old furnace was used for lime burning in the production of cement, producing 2.5 tons of cement a day. A method of smelting steel by using anthracite instead of coke was developed; the workers at automobile maintenance workshops produced the first domestic light weight automobile called "Victory."⁴⁶ At all the enterprises, construction projects, motor pools and institutions the workers and employees are working with great enthusiasm under the slogan: "Produce in abundance, rapidly, well and at low cost."⁴⁷

A campaign to enlist the masses in resolving the task of carrying out the decision of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and of the government of the DRV concerning the administrative reorganization of the enterprises was begun. This campaign has the goal of improving industrial administration, of expanding the participation of the masses and of increasing the role of the party and the public organizations in directing production while at the same time increasing the personal responsibility of the enterprise directors. In addition to that this campaign is designed to mobilize the creative initiative of the cadre workers, of the professional, industrial and office workers in the achievement of a greater productivity of labor, a decrease in the expenditure of raw material and materials and to assure the fulfillment of the plans.⁴⁸ This movement was called upon to carry out the principal goal of the socialist revolution--"To transform the production relationships."⁴⁹ It is conducted under the following slogans: "Cadre workers develop democracy, the workers actively participate in the campaign for the perfection of the administrative management of production";⁵⁰ "Cadre workers participate in physical labor, workers participate in the management of production."⁵¹

In areas where this movement has already developed splendid results were achieved in the matter of educating the masses and raising the productivity of labor. The lag in the fulfillment of production plans which occurred in industry was liquidated, after the mobilization of the masses for the development of the movement for the perfection of industrial administration, and many enterprises not only fulfilled, but even overfulfilled their planned assignments.

As a result of the successes achieved in the development of industry and in raising the productivity of labor, the material position of the working class showed a marked improvement.

Manifesting constant concern for the working class, the Workers' Party of Vietnam and the government of the DRV provided work for 140,000 persons, who lost their jobs under the French colonizers after the restoration of peace. In addition to that work was provided for 100,000 immigrants from the South. At the present time unemployment has been basically liquidated.⁵²

The workers' and employees' wages are constantly rising in the DRV. The 13th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam (December 1957) was of great significance to the material position of the workers; it adopted a resolution concerning the introduction of a unified wage system and an increase in the wages for all workers and employees. In accordance with the decisions made by the party and the government, the wages increased fourfold over the period from 1954 to 1958. In 1958 they were 13% greater than in 1957, and if the fact that during 1958 prices for food products and consumer goods decreased by 7%-9% is taken into consideration, it would then mean that the real wages over that period of time actually increased by not less than 20%.⁵³ Along with an increase in the wages the system of paying the wages was also improved. In 1955 a transfer from payment in kind (food and industrial goods), which was widespread during the War of Resistance, to a system of monetary remuneration was carried out. In 1956 a minimum wage law for the lowest paid categories was adopted. During 1957-1958 a system of social insurance was developed, a piece rate wage system was introduced in addition to premium payments, which are conducive to an increase in the productivity of labor and to an increase in the workers' incomes. As a result of all these measures the average income of the workers of the state enterprises increased from 39 dong in 1955 to 52.3 dong in 1957.⁵⁴ In April of 1960 the workers' and employees' wages were raised again by 12.4%. Thereby the Three Year Plan was fulfilled ahead of schedule; between 1958 and 1960 the workers' and employees' wages increased by 25% as compared with 1957.

In 1956 the government issued orders which regulated the position of the workers in private enterprises. These orders protect the legal rights of the workers of private enterprises. Orders pertaining to the protection of labor in production were also issued.

In September of 1957 the 7th Session of the National Assembly DRV adopted a new law pertaining to labor conditions and trade unions, which determines the rights and the duties of the workers and is conducive to a consolidation of labor discipline among the workers.

Manifesting continuous concern for an improvement in the position of the workers, the government appropriates extensive funds for the construction of dwellings. During the period between 1955-1957 over 100,000 square meters of housing area were constructed for workers and employees, in addition to clubs, hospitals, kindergartens and so on.⁵⁵ 45,000,000 additional dong were appropriated for cultural and public service needs of the population, 31% of that amount was designated for the construction of dwellings.⁵⁶ As a result of an improvement in the material position and the medical servicing the number of illnesses at the enterprises decreased considerably and amounted to only 10% of the overall number of workers as compared with 15%-20% during 1957.⁵⁷

These remarkable successes were attained because of the heroic efforts by the Vietnamese workers, the wise leadership of the Workers' Party and the government. The successes of all the countries of socialism were also of great significance, especially the great achievements of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. They inspire the Vietnamese workers towards the achievement of a further upsurge in production, instill a faith in victory in the struggle for the building of socialism. All of this serves as evidence of a rapid industrial development of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which is confidently proceeding along a path towards socialism.

The industry of South Vietnam is in poor condition; it is ruled by the anti-national regime of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

The industry of South Vietnam encounters considerable difficulties. The American imperialists flooded the South Vietnamese market with stale commodities. Local industrial enterprises and handicraft workers, who could not compete with the imported goods, were forced to either cease or to considerably curtail their production. The pages of the bulletin of the Saigon Chamber of Commerce reflect some very vivid admissions by the entrepreneurs: the industry of South Vietnam "is in a hopeless position," "has encountered extreme difficulties." Ngo Dinh Diem, appearing before the "national assembly" on 6 October 1958, announced that "the entrepreneur activities are undergoing a depression."⁵⁸ The textile industry, and especially the handicraft enterprises are experiencing especially difficult times. Of the 15 thousand spinning looms some 10.5 thousand are idle.⁵⁹ The textile plants use only one third of their looms. The situation is not much better in the sugar industry: the mill at Hiep Hoa recently has been yielding 1,780 tons of sugar a year (7% of the volume produced during 1939). The handicraft production of sugar decreased from 40,000 tons (in 1939) to 11,000 tons.⁶⁰ Thousands of handicraft sugar workers dropped their occupation. In 1958, due to an absence of a market tens of thousands of hectares of ripe sugar cane were burned.⁶¹ At the same time the American monopolists annually import over 50,000 tons of sugar into South Vietnam. The output of the wood working industry also decreased, as well as that of the leather working, rubber, tea, tobacco, fish canning and many other branches of industry. As a result of the curtailment in handicraft production in South Vietnam, hundreds of thousands of people are without work.

Unemployment is growing from year to year. The South Vietnam authorities do not publish official data concerning the number of unemployed in the country. According to press reports, however, it is known that there are approximately 1,500,000 persons without work in South Vietnam. The large cities contain almost 800,000 unemployed, including approximately 160,000 industrial workers.⁶² The material position of the working masses is deteriorating. According to data furnished in the "Economic Bulletin" and by the

Statistical Institute (Saigon), the cost of living in South Vietnam increased by 32% between 1953 and July 1959. Prices for commodities of primary importance increased more than twofold in Saigon during the period from 1955 to 1958. The prices for rice increased from 4.5 piasters to 8 piasters per kilogram, the price of beef-- from 35.8 to 95 piasters, and that of pork from 30 to 90 piasters.

The so-called "five year plan for the enrichment and development of the economy of South Vietnam" and the profuse talk by Ngo Dinh Diem about the creation of a national industry are of a dogmatic and false nature. South Vietnam remains a poorly developed country dependent on foreign capital. The so-called "American aid," which is extended by American monopolists to the Ngo Dinh Diem government, is not directed at the development of the economy and an improvement in the material position of the masses, but at a militarization of South Vietnam, and a transformation of it into a colony and a military base of American imperialism. During the postwar years 3/4 of the entire budget of South Vietnam was spent on military needs. In 1958 approximately 70% of the budget was spent for the maintenance of the army, the gendarmerie, the police, the intelligence service, and only two percent of the budget was spent for economic development.

The difficulties experienced by industry and by the other branches of the economy of South Vietnam are explained by the fact that the Ngo Dinh Diem government is carrying out a policy which responds to the interests of the American monopolists and not to the interests of the Vietnamese people, and by the fact that it is binding itself tighter and tighter to the American war chariot.

The successful development of the industry of North Vietnam serves as additional evidence of the advantages of a socialist order over the capitalist system. The victories attained by the DRV in economic construction intensify its influence on the eventual outcome of the struggle for a peaceful unification of both sectors of the country and for the creation of a single, peaceful, democratic, independent and blossoming Vietnam.

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 2. Ibid., 15 July 1958.
 3. Ibid., 10 January 1959.
 4. Le Thanh Nghj, Nhiem vu phat trien cong nghiep ba nam nam 1958-1960 (Bao cao truoc Hoi nghi can bo cong nghieplan thu ba tu 1-4 den 13-4 1958), Hanoi, 1958, page 5.
 5. Zhan Shenn, Ocherk Istorii V'yetnamskogo Naroda (An outline of the History of the Vietnamese People) Moscow, 1957, page 263.
 6. Hoc Tap, 1958, No 2.

7. Indices in terms of cost are given in the new dong, which was established by the monetary reform conducted in February of 1959 (1,000 old dong are equal to 1 new dong).
8. Bui Cong Trung, Severnnyy V'yetnam Na Puti Postroyeniya Sotsializma (North Vietnam on the Path of Building of Socialism), Moscow, 1959, page 66.
9. Nhan Dan, 2 June 1960.
10. Ibid., 11 July 1958.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Bui Cong Trung, Severnnyy V'yetnam Na Puti Postroyeniya Sotsializma, page 67.
16. Ibid., page 7.
17. Hoc Tap, 1958, No 3, page 78.
18. Nhan Dan, 16 February 1960.
19. Ibid., 2 September 1959.
20. Bui Cong Trung, Severnnyy V'yetnam Na Puti Postroyeniya Sotsializma, page 121.
21. Nhan Dan, 11 December 1958; 4 February 1959; 3 January 1960; Hoc Tap, 1958, No 2. Nhien Lich Cong Thuong Mau Tuat 1958, Hanoi, page 60.
22. Hoc Tap, 1958, No 3, page 73; Nhan Dan, 24 April 1958.
23. Nhan Dan, 11 December 1958.
24. Hoc Tap, 1958, No 3, page 73; Nhan Dan, 24 April 1958.
25. Nhan Dan, 11 December 1958.
26. Bui Cong Trung, Severnnyy V'yetnam Na Puti Postroyeniya Sotsializma, page 82.
27. Nhan Dan, 19 April 1958.
28. Ibid., 7 January 1959.
29. Bui Cong Trung, Severnnyy V'yetnam Na Puti Postroyeniya Sotsializma, page 67.
30. Nhan Dan, 25 December 1959.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 2 January 1959.
33. Ibid., 11 December 1958.
34. The deductions were made on the basis of data published in Nhan Dan, 30 April 1958; 23 April 1958; 11 December 1958 and 11 January 1959.
35. Uspekhi Vosstanovleniya Narodnogo Khozyaystva Demokraticheskoy Respubliki V'yetnam (Successes Attained in the Restoration of the National Economy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam), Moscow, 1958, page 107.
36. Nhan Dan, 25 December 1959.
37. Informatsionnyy Byulleten' (Information Bulletin), 1959, No 3, page 1.
38. Nhan Dan, 16 February 1960.

39. Bui Cong Trung, Severnyy V'yetnam Na Puti Postroyeniya Sotsializma,
page 69.
40. Nhan Dan, 1 January 1959.
41. Ibid., 25 December 1958.
42. Ibid., 7 January 1959.
43. Ibid., 26 December 1956; 9 December 1958.
44. Ibid., 16 February 1960.
45. Ibid., 11 December 1958.
46. Lao Dong, 17 January 1959.
47. Nhan Dan, 23 December 1958.
48. Ibid., 26 July 1958.
49. Ibid., 9 December 1958.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., 1 January 1959.
52. B. I. K. I., 5 September 1959.
53. Nhan Dan, 1 January 1959.
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page 12.
55. Bui Cong Trung, Severnyy V'yetnam Na Puti Postroyeniya Sotsializma,
56. Nhan Dan, 9 December 1958.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., 29 December 1958.
59. Ibid.; ibid., 14 January 1959.
60. Vietnam en Marche (Vietnam on the March), 1958, No 7, page 22.
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AID BY COUNTRIES IN THE SOCIALIST CAMP IN RESTORING AND
DEVELOPING THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

by Bui-cong-Trung

The very existence of the working class and the solidarity among the proletariat of all countries is a reliable guarantee of success for the struggle of liberation waged by the colonial peoples. Without the generous support of the people of all countries, primarily by the peoples and governments of the Soviet Union and of the Chinese People's Republic we would have encountered much greater difficulties in our struggle against imperialism. The victory of the August Revolution and the successful completion of the War of Resistance were attained basically because of the boundless enthusiasm of the Vietnamese and the other peoples of the Indochinese peninsula. It is, however, necessary to admit that the support and solidarity of the workers of the entire world, of the peoples of the oppressed countries and that of the peace loving peoples were of great significance in the struggle for the restoration of peace in Indochina, and continues to perform a great role at the present time, when North Vietnam is proceeding along the path of building socialism.

In retreating behind the 17th parallel the enemy thought that North Vietnam would be incapable of liquidating the terrible destruction caused by the war. But they failed to take into consideration the circumstance that the restoration of Vietnam's economy is taking place during the period when the colonial system is collapsing, when the sun of socialism is shining over the entire world, illuminating the movement of the peoples towards a new and happy life with its rays. There is a saying in Vietnam: "If the father in the family is a fool, there will most certainly be a clever uncle" ("The world is not without kind people"). During moments of danger, famine and misfortune, fraternal socialist countries came to our assistance and helped us to rapidly heal our wounds, caused by war, and extended their aid in economic and cultural construction.

The declaration of twelve socialist countries published towards the end of 1957, stated: "The socialist countries have established extensive economic and cultural cooperation among themselves, on a basis of complete equality of rights, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance. This performs an important role in the consolidation of economic and political independence of every one of the socialist countries and in the consolidation of the entire system of socialist cooperation."¹ This was possible because the

socialist countries are "amalgamated under a unified system of cooperation by the fact that they are all on the path towards socialism, as well as by their common class essence of the social-economic order and state power, by their mutual support and assistance, by mutual interests and goals in the struggle against imperialism, by their concern for the victory of socialism and communism and by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism which is common to all."².

The unified nature of the socialist countries is based on principles of proletarian internationalism, which is the basis of cooperation among them and at the same time serves as a source of growth and power of the socialist system. Common goals and aspirations shared by the countries of that system are a decisive condition for the victorious struggle against imperialism and against other reactionary forces. It guarantees a victory of socialism in every country and in the entire system as a whole. The socialist system represents not only a political, but an economic union, in which the ties between the fraternal countries of Europe and Asia are becoming stronger every day. In that union the USSR is the most highly developed state which has the greatest amount of experience in the building of socialism, a state which is building communism.

At the present time the economic cooperation among socialist countries encompasses all aspects of the national economy of those countries. Comradely mutual assistance extended by the more highly developed countries to those that are less well developed is a law, that is a part of the socialist system, a law that is radically different from the laws of capitalism. Brotherly mutual assistance provides the possibility for the poorly developed countries to attain an economic level equal to that attained by the other socialist countries.

In his report at the 21st Congress CPSU comrade Khrushchev stressed that "the growth and development of every socialist country leads to the consolidation of the entire world socialist system. This is our strength, the key to future victories by the socialist system in its peaceful competition with capitalism."³. "We are forging ahead with a unified front, extending brotherly aid and support to each other....The problem of a maximum gain in time in the economic competition with capitalism confronts not only the Soviet Union...."⁴.

The great principles of brotherly cooperation, the principles of proletarian internationalism obligate the socialist countries with developed economies to help those brotherly countries that are lagging behind, and the poorly developed countries, such as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, for example, to devote all their efforts in order to accelerate their economic development.

When as a result of the 15 year long destructive war the government encountered great difficulties, when the people were threatened with famine, all the friendly countries--from the Soviet Union to small Albania--extended their support to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, provided with with assistance that did not

have to be repaid and extended credit on easy terms (see table given below).

Aid Extended by Countries of the Socialist Camp to the
Democratic Republic of Vietnam During March 1959

| Country | Unit of Measure | Aid That Did Not Have to Be Repaid | Long Term Credit |
|----------------------------|-----------------|--|---------------------|
| USSR | million rubles | 400* | 160 |
| Chinese People's Republic | million yuan | 900** | 300 |
| Czechoslovakia | million rubles | 25 | -- |
| | million koruna | 150 | 15 |
| German Democratic Republic | million rubles | 60*** | -- |
| Poland | million zloty | 30.3 | 10 |
| Rumania | million rubles | 15 | 10 |
| Hungary | million rubles | 8.5 | -- |
| Bulgaria | million rubles | 4.8 | -- |
| Albania | thousand rubles | 623 | -- |
| Mongolia | thousand rubles | 367 | -- |

* In addition to outright gifts.

** In addition to aid in the form of commodities and materials.

***In addition to supplementary aid.

Most of these sums are spent for the acquisition of the means of production, and a small part of them is used to acquire consumer goods. Long term credit is entirely used for the acquisition of complex equipment. Out of the 400,000,000 rubles granted by the USSR as a gift, 75% was spent for the purchase of entire sets of equipment as well as for individual components, and approximately 25% for the acquisition of consumer goods.

900,000,000 yuan received from the Chinese People's Republic were distributed in the following manner: 22%--for consumer goods, 63%, for sets of equipment, and 15% was spent on specialists, Vietnamese students and practitioners studying in China. The financial assistance of the German Democratic Republic was almost entirely spent on the acquisition of equipment and for the training of

specialists (82%); and only an insignificant portion (18%) was spent for the purchase of consumer goods. 63.5% of the money contributed by Poland was spent for the acquisition of the means of production; half of the amount granted by Rumania was used to acquire means of production and to finance the assistance extended by Rumanian specialists. 65% of the commodities furnished by Rumania as aid to the DRV consisted of consumer goods and 35% of means of production.

A similar tendency is observed in foreign trade: the importation of equipment and of other means of production from the socialist countries is growing with every year, while the importation of consumer goods is decreasing (see table below).

Imports of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Thousand Rubles

| Year | Means of Production | Consumer Goods |
|------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1955 | 133,976 | 160,987 |
| 1956 | 199,275 | 99,339 |
| 1957 | 239,424 | 139,521 |
| 1958 | 190,623 | 67,339 |
| 1959 | 251,853 | 49,310 |

The aid extended by the Soviet Union, China and by other friendly countries provides the possibility not only of developing industry, without which the republic's economic independence is inconceivable, and not only of liquidating the shortage in commodities during the period of unstabilized market prices, but also to resolve many other problems pertaining to economic and cultural construction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Assistance extended in the form of consumer goods was of extremely great significance. The Soviet Union supplied us with 170,000 tons of refined rice, 9,000,000 meters of fabric, 1,900 thousand tons of knitwear, 5,000 tons of cotton and so on; the Chinese People's Republic furnished us with a large amount of cotton, knitwear, fabric and rice; other countries--German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania and Mongolia--have extended their assistance in the past and continue to assist us by supplying drugs, fabrics, industrial goods, rice and cattle. All this allowed us to liquidate famine and epidemics, to make a considerable improvement in the public health system and to strike a crushing blow at the speculators, who sharply raised prices on all the most important commodities.

The Soviet Union extended considerable assistance in the construction of industrial enterprises: the tin combine at Tinh Thouk, the Lao Cay apatite mine, 16 thermal electric power plants at Than Hoa, Vinh, Lao Kay, Phu Thoa and Wong Bih, power transmission lines and transformer substations, two hydroelectric power plants, two enterprises for the repair of agricultural machinery and agricultural equipment, two tea factories, a fish canning combine, a refrigeration plant, a superphosphate plant, the Hanoi machine tool plant, four large oil bases and a water pressure tower at Than Hoa.

The USSR also supplied such types of equipment as electric motors, electric power generators, lathes, pumps, technical equipment for the mining industry and so on.

In addition to that geological survey work was conducted with the assistance of the Soviet specialists, the amount of coal extracted in the Hon Gay basin was increased and three fishing vessels equipped with refrigeration equipment were constructed.

The Chinese People's Republic helped in the construction of the following enterprises: the chromium mine at Than Hoa, the Quang Chienhu mine, a metallurgical plant at Thai Nguyen, an electric power plant at Viet Chih and Thai Nguyen, several high voltage power transmission lines, a number of pig iron casting and copper smelting furnaces, enterprises for the production of soda, two thermophosphate plants, four plants for the production of nitrogen fertilizers, fourteen rice refineries and two sugar mills, as well as a match factory, a paper mill, the Hanoi weaving plant, a plant for the production of burlap, a dye shop at the Nam Dinh textile combine, eight fishing boats, many small enterprises for the production of office equipment, flashlight batteries, thermos bottles, plastic products, boullion cubes, vermicelli and so on.

Looms, equipment for sugar mills and sugar refineries, electric motors, electric power generators, technical equipment for mining operations, lathes, instruments and apparatus for geologic surveys and so on.

The German Democratic Republic participated in the past and continues to participate in the construction of an industrial scientific research institute, a glass factory, 20 fishing boats in addition to supplying such items as electrical equipment, electrical instruments, electric power generators, lathes, and so on.

Czechoslovakia provided material needed for the construction of four saw mills and plywood factories; Poland installed steam boilers in four electric power plants and constructed a large sugar mill; Hungary constructed a power plant at Than Hoa; Rumania expanded the cement factory. All these countries furnish us with various industrial equipment.

The countries of the socialist camp also help in the rapid development of agriculture in the DRV. Soviet Russia and Rumania supply agricultural machinery, Mongolia provides large horned

cattle and goats for breeding purposes. China participated in the resotration of the Pay Thuong dam, the Xyang Kao overflow dam in the Bac Hyng Khai irrigation system, in the creation of a scientific research irrigation institute, in the construction of four experimental state farms, and in the construction of an enterprise for the production of veterinary drugs. It provides Vietnam with the equipment needed for the construction of irrigation structures: pumps, ventilation installations and presses.

The DRV relies on the assistance of the fraternal countries in order to adjust its transportation and communication facilities as well.

The Soviet Union conducted research work at the ports of Haiphong and Hon Gay, installed dredging equipment on rivers and by the ocean docks, in addition to providing tug boats; Poland sent tug boats and dredging barges, the USSR and Czechoslovakia furnished means for transporting cargo. The German Democratic Public participates in the creation of a motor vehicle transportation network and furnishes means of transportation.

The Chinese People's Republic helped in the restoration of the railroad in the sector between Hanoi-Mouk Nam Quang and furnished equipment needed for the construction of highways, a scientific research institute, a ship wharf, an aircraft maintenance workshop, a locomotive depot, a railroad car repair plant, a railroad spur to the Thai Nguyen metallurgical rayon, enterprises for the impregnation of railway ties, a concrete plant, a telegraph station, a telephone network on three ocean ships.

The assistance extended by the socialist countries also extends into the field of culture and public of health. The Soviet Union took part in the construction of a radio station, a radio network and radio relay stations, the German Democratic Republic cooperated in the creation of a modern printing shop which was named "Tien-bo" (Progress) and a motion picture processing laboratory; it also provided the DRV with motion picture projection and transmission equipment. China forwarded special radiobroadcasting equipment for the Vietnamese information agency.

Equipment for a medical-pharmaceutical institute and for an agricultural and a forestry institute was received from the USSR, and a polytechnical institute is now under construction with the assistance of the USSR. The German Democratic Republic took part in supplying equipment for a secondary school at Hanoi. China furnished technical equipment for railroad and agricultural trade schools, communications schools, forestry schools, and 46 laboratories.

The Soviet Union, China, Poland, as well as the Democratic Republic of Germany and Czechoslovakia have extended their assistance in the past and continue to help in the conduct of surveys for the natural wealth of Vietnam.

In order to cooperate in the development of public health, the Soviet Union furnished equipment for a modern clinic, for 70

mobile medical points and one pharmaceutical enterprise. The German Democratic Republic participated in the construction of two pharmaceutical enterprises, a modern clinic, in addition to furnishing equipment for several rural medical points.

Bulgaria helped the specialists with medical equipment, Poland equipped a hospital, and Rumania equipped anti-epidemic prophylactic stations.

The trade relations of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam with the socialist countries are constantly expanding (see table below).

Foreign Trade of the DRV with the Socialist Countries
(Thousand Rubles)

| Year | Export | Import |
|------|---------|---------|
| 1955 | 26,227 | 289,707 |
| 1956 | 55,111 | 279,870 |
| 1957 | 107,626 | 335,400 |
| 1958 | 162,626 | 217,340 |
| 1959 | 264,000 | 43,300 |

Relying on an exchange of commodities with countries of the socialist camp, we obtained the possibility of developing trade with capitalist countries (see table below).

Foreign Trade of the DRV with the Capitalist Countries
(Thousand dong)

| Year | Export | Import |
|------|--------|--------|
| 1955 | 2,455 | 1,646 |
| 1958 | 39,853 | 4,580 |
| 1959 | 68,000 | 68,000 |

Due to the assistance extended by the socialist countries Vietnam's economy underwent an extensive change: branches of economy are now developing that formerly did not even exist in the country, such as machine building, metallurgy, oil, chemistry, and fertilizer. Many new enterprises of the light industry appeared. In the near future a sugar mill with a production capacity of 10,000 tons of sugar per year, a paper mill which will produce 20,000 tons of paper every year and other large enterprises will go into effect. Formerly machinery was not used at all in agriculture, whereas at the present time they are used even though not on too large a scale.

This opens up prospectives for the future mechanization of agriculture.

Due exclusively to the assistance and credit extended by the socialist countries (totalling some two billion rubles) we now have enough funds to conduct rapid and uninterrupted capital construction. In 1955 capital investments in the national economy were quite insignificant, whereas in 1957 they amounted to 406,000,000 dong, and in 1960 they will increase to 847,000,000 dong. It is planned to increase them by an average of 27.8% per year. The amount appropriated for capital construction during the period from 1955 to 1957 amounted to 762,000,000 dong, and during the period from 1958 to 1960 it increased to 1,843 million dong. The assistance extended to us by the socialist countries made it easier for us to accumulate funds in order to expand production; it permitted us to accelerate the tempos of economic development and to raise the living standards of the population.

Due to the unchanging increase in the investments in capital construction, industrial production, which in 1957 amounted to only 13.9% of the gross agricultural and industrial production, in 1960 will amount to 19.8%, and the share of the output of industrial enterprises will correspondingly increase from 9% to 14%.

The overall share of the industry producing consumer goods for the same period of time will decrease from 68% to 65%, while that of the industry producing the means of production, by contrast, will increase from 31.9% to 35%. Capital investments in the production of the means of production amount to 75% of all capital investments in industry.

All this became possible because the brotherly countries continue to furnish us with complex equipment. The socialist sector in the national economy of the DRV is continually expanding. The value of gross production produced by the state enterprises is increasing with every day (see table below).

The State Industry of the DRV During the Period from
1956 to 1959
(Thousand dong)

| Year | Industrial and handicraft production | State industry |
|------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1956 | 607,357 | 159,179 |
| 1957 | 914,893 | 232,486 |
| 1958 | 1,095,200 | 340,000 |
| 1959 | 1,297,200 | 478,000 |

At the present time the state industrial enterprises, along with other projects of the state sector, have become a basis for the socialist transformations within the country.

In order to attain the successful development of the national economy in Vietnam, it is necessary to resolve not only the problem pertaining to technology, but the problem pertaining to the personnel, who are controlling present day technology. In that respect the countries of the socialist camp, and primarily the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic are providing extensive assistance. They send specialists to the DRV who conduct training in the proper utilization of technology and equipment. During the period from 1955 to 1958 the overall number of specialists who arrived in Vietnam came to 4,755, including 1,083 from the Soviet Union, 3,245 from China, 163 from Czechoslovakia, and 149 from Germany.

The socialist countries help us in the training of national cadres for all branches of the national economy. At the present time some 2,177 Vietnamese men and women are studying in the fraternal countries.

Agreements have been concluded between the socialist countries and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam about a cultural exchange and about an exchange of scientific-technical information. Measures conducted in accordance with those agreements are of great significance in the development of the economy of our country.

In 1958 there were only 800 specialists with a higher education in the DRV, whereas by 1960 their number will increase to 3,000. We could not even dream of that during the domination by the French colonizers and Japanese militarists, still we are not satisfied with these figures. Therefore the problem of skilled personnel remains one of the most important and urgent ones.

There is nothing more concrete than our belief in victory. The 21st Congress CPSU which outlined the prospectives for the building of communism, inspired the Vietnamese people and its Workers' Party to continue building socialism in North Vietnam. The Seven Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR opens up limitless prospectives. The realization of that plan will assure the superiority of the entire socialist system in the world economy as a whole. This plan forms a basis for international cooperation which is becoming stronger every day. It will exert a great influence on the growth of the production forces in the brotherly countries and will be conducive to a further expansion of ties between these countries.

Even though the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is still a country with a poorly developed economy and remains in need of assistance from the leading countries, it is the only socialist country that is situated in the tropical belt and has valuable raw material and products. Therefore the DRV contains everything necessary in order to be able to make its contribution to the economic cooperation among the socialist countries in the name of the further blossoming of the entire socialist system. It is very important to have a good knowledge of the natural wealth of one's country, and to develop its hidden potentialities in order to

expand production in accordance with the overall plan for the development of socialist countries.

"The tendency towards the creation of a single, worldwide economy as a whole, regulated by the proletariat of all nations in accordance with a general plan,"⁵ which was described by Lenin, is beginning to appear today, and we are obligated to develop it.

The basis for a historic victory by the socialist system is the constantly strengthening unity of the international communist movement, and the friendship among peoples of the socialist countries.

The assistance extended by the Soviet Union, China and by other fraternal countries to the Vietnamese people is a concrete manifestation of just such an international solidarity, and we must aspire to make it grow stronger with every day.

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1. Dokumenty Soveshchaniya Predstavitelev Kommunisticheskikh i Rabochikh Partiy (Documents of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties), Moscow, 1957, page 12.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Khrushchev, N.S., O Kontrol'nykh Tsifrakh Razvitiya Narodnogo Khozyaystva SSSR na 1959-1965 (Concerning the Control Figures of the Development of the National Economy USSR for 1959-1965), Moscow, 1959, page 78.
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 5. Lenin, V.I., "A Preliminary Outline of the Thesis Concerning the National and Colonial Questions," Sochineniya (Works), Vol. 31, 4th Edition, page 125.

STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE FOR THE PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

by Pham Hung

The Geneva Agreements and the Problem of Unifying the Country.

Since the occupation of Vietnam by the French colonizers, the Vietnamese people never ceased their struggle for national independence and a unification of their Homeland. The imperialists conducted a traditional policy of the colonial powers in an occupied country--a policy of "divide and rule," and fanned discord and enmity. They split Vietnam into three parts: North and Central Vietnam was organized as a protectorate and South Vietnam was transformed into a colony.

The August Revolution was victorious throughout the country and served as evidence of the entire people's aspiration for independence and unity. But the colonizers resumed aggressive action in Vietnam. Guided by the party of the working class and the government of the republic the entire people, as a single unit, rose to wage the heroic War of Resistance. They struggled not only against the French occupation, but also against American imperialists who attempted to take the position occupied by the French. The People's Army liberated great areas of the country. The Geneva agreements pertaining to the restoration of peace in Indochina on the basis of a recognition of the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos were signed after the history victory at Dien Bien Phu.

The Geneva agreements on Vietnam consist of three basic parts.

The first part concerns the cease fire: the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and those of the French Union were to be withdrawn to both sides of a temporary military demarcation line, which must in no case serve as a border line in either a political or a territorial respect and passes approximately along the 17th parallel.

The second part stipulates measures for preventing war: neither side must bring additional troops, arms or military supplies into Vietnam, or to construct new military bases and participate in military blocks.

The third part resolves certain political questions: the unification of Vietnam must be carried out by means of free general elections throughout the country in July of 1956.

The signing of the Geneva agreements after an almost nine year long War of Resistance was received with sympathetic feelings

and active support by the forces of peace, socialism and democracy throughout the world; this was a great victory of the Vietnamese people. These agreements ended the intentions of the American imperialists to continue the war in Indochina and were a great contribution to the matter of peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

In accordance with the Geneva agreements North Vietnam was completely liberated; South Vietnam, however, continues to be occupied by foreign occupation powers. The imperialists of the USA have pushed aside the French colonizers there, and by using the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet regime, are transforming South Vietnam into a military base for their own use. Therefore the task of the national peoples' democratic revolution is not yet completed in terms of the entire country. Since Vietnam is temporarily split into two parts, the peoples' basic motto is the unification of the country, without which the revolution may not be culminated.

According to the Geneva agreements Vietnam was to be recognized as an independent, self-governing, unified and an indivisible country. Specific measures for its unification were outlined: free general elections throughout the country. Therefore the people's struggle for a peaceful unification is closely associated with a struggle for the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements, which are the legal basis for the movement for the unification of the country. The decisive conditions for victory are a mobilization and a rallying of the masses, an awareness and organization of the people.

Interference by American Imperialists in the Affairs of South Vietnam.

In 1954, when the French colonizers were experiencing defeat after defeat in Vietnam, and were in need of assistance, the imperialists in the USA forced them to appoint Ngo Dinh Diem as the prime minister of the puppet government, and after the restoration of peace they started forcing the French out of South Vietnam.

At the present time the USA is extending assistance to Ngo Dinh Diem directly, and not through France which was the case during the war. Pro-American officials are appointed to the highest positions in the army and government, which serves to strengthen the position of the American imperialists in the country. First of all the USA aspired to establish control over the armed forces, which at that time were still controlled by the French. By bribing several responsible persons among the high ranking officers, they managed to place their own man at the head of the general staff of the southern army, instead of the French appointee. After that the pro-French Binh Hsyen organization, which controlled the entire Saigon-Tourane police apparatus, was liquidated. Acting either by force or bribery, the American imperialists split and gradually destroyed pro-French religious sects such as the Hao Hao and Cao Dai and concentrated the control over the armed forces in the hands

of the pro-American Ngo Dinh Diem clique. Relying on the army, they gradually forced the French appointees out of both the central, the provincial and the rural governmental organs.

In October of 1955 the American imperialists, in collaboration with the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, conducted the so-called national referendum, displaced Bao Dai and elevated Ngo Dinh Diem to the post of president. After France withdrew its troops from South Vietnam in April of 1956, compelled to do so by the Geneva agreements, the Americans then assumed the dominant position there. Through their advisers they control the policy of the South Vietnam government. The USA mission in South Vietnam is engaged in training administrative personnel and in organizing an espionage network. The American military missions "Temporary Equipment Recovery Mission," military assistance group "Military and Advisory Group" as well as others (such as "Combat Army Training Organization," for instance) direct the activities of the Ministry of Defense, the general staff, in addition to controlling military units, divisions and military training centers. When the cease fire went into effect there were 20 American officers in South Vietnam, whereas at the present time there are 280 of them there, i.e. there are more of them than there are officers in the High Command of the South Vietnam Army. In addition to that there are auxiliary American personnel there (almost 2,000 persons). The American advisers develop plans for the organization of the army, the creation of military bases, and resolve problems pertaining to the distribution of troops in South Vietnam. They are engaged in direct military training, they conduct maneuvers and large scale operations for "combing" the area.

The American imperialists also control the country's economy. An American economic aid group from "Michigan State University" has special sections in the various departments as well as affiliates in all of the large cities; it distributes funds and commodities which are received as aid, and supervises their utilization.

The policy conducted by the imperialists of the USA in South Vietnam from the restoration of peace until the present time, is a policy designed to undermine the Geneva agreements, a policy that pursues a goal of consolidating the division of the country and of transforming its southern portion into a colony and a military base of the USA.

In July of 1955, in accordance with the Geneva agreements the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam forwarded a note to the South Vietnam government with an offer to open a consultative conference in order to discuss the matter of conducting free general elections in July of 1956. This offer fully responded to the aspirations of our countrymen and was therefore warmly supported by the entire people.

A widespread political movement developed in the country, and encompassed all layers of the population. Demonstrations and meetings took place throughout the country, leaflets and billboards

demanding the convocation of a consultative conference were distributed throughout the country. Ngo Dinh Diem, however, following the orders of his American masters, cynically announced that South Vietnam does not consider itself bound by the Geneva agreements, is not accepting the obligations, assumed by France, for the fulfillment of these agreements, and refused to call a consultative conference for the discussion of problems pertaining to the unification of the country. More than that, the American-Ngo Dinh Diem clique issued an order ordering the security organs, the police and the army to suppress this national movement. Tens of thousands of people were arrested and thrown into prison, and hundreds of people were shot on the spot.

In March of 1956, in violation of the Geneva agreements, the South Vietnam troops conducted separate elections. A "national" assembly of South Vietnam was organized and a constitution of the American type was worked out. The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on more than one occasion suggested that a bilateral conference be conducted in order to discuss problems pertaining to the unification of the country and other vitally important matters, in its notes to the South Vietnam government of 11 May 1956, 18 July 1957, 7 March 1958, and 22 December 1958. The suggestions made by the government of the DRV are warmly supported by all layers of the population of the country and by Vietnamese immigrants abroad. Ngo Dinh Diem, however, acting in accordance with orders issued by the American imperialists, does not take into consideration the will of the people and uses various excuses in order to refuse these suggestions.

The division of Vietnam causes great harm to the Vietnamese people. From the time peace was restored until the present time, the government of the DRV has continued to insist on an establishment of normal relations between both parts of the country, even before unification. But the South Vietnam government continues to maintain an irreconcilable position even in such matters as an exchange of cultural, scientific, sports and other delegations, or allowing women and children to visit relatives or engaging in tourism. Postal communication still has not been adjusted, despite the insistent demands made by the population of both parts of the country.

All of these factors along with a determined lack of desire to conduct consultative conferences serve to show the Vietnamese people and the people of the whole world the true nature of the actions of the South Vietnam government. For a period of five years the American imperialists have been conducting a policy designed to promote the arms race in South Vietnam. Out of the overall aid extended by the USA in the amount of 965,000,000 dollars (furnished between 1955 and 1958) some 626,000,000 dollars (i.e. two-thirds) were in the form of military aid. Most of the funds provided in the form of so-called economic and technical assistance

(total amount--246,000,000 dollars), is spent on the construction of military projects: strategic roads, airfields, military ports, as well as on the creation of agricultural settlements designed to service military installations and so on. In addition to that, the American imperialists, in violation of Article 17 of the Geneva agreements, secretly import arms, military supplies and equipment into South Vietnam. According to data for the middle of 1959, some 380 ships with such prohibited cargo docked there. Since the first part of 1956 and until the present time there is almost never a day that passes without some military aircraft landing on the airfields at Saigon and Tha Nang with military personnel or military supplies.

The international supervisory and control commission which is constantly hindered by the Ngo Dinh Diem government, cited the violation of Article 17 of the Geneva agreements on 14 occasions.

A 150,000 strong regular army was formed in South Vietnam. Security detachments were created (60,000 persons) as well as "national defense units" (100,000 persons), all armed and trained in the American manner. New military bases are under construction and expansion in the country. The airfields at Saigon and Bien Hoa are becoming the largest ones in Southeast Asia. The so-called automobile highway between Saigon and Bien Hoa, the construction of which is being financed by the USA and which, according to plan, must be 32 kilometers long, 100 meters wide and have additional shoulders on both sides of 250 meters each, can actually be used as an aircraft landing and take off strip. Airports at Ban Me Thuot, Nha Trang, Tha Nang and many others are equipped to handle heavy and jet aircraft. Naval bases at Saigon, Nha Trang, and Tha Nang are also equipped to handle large ships 24 hours a day.

In order to free the needed territory the South Vietnam government evicts citizens from their homes and burns their dwellings. The peasants are forced to settle in jungle areas that are harmful to their health, whereas there are over 900,000 hectares of fertile and hitherto uncultivated land in the plain. Settlements are constructed in the vicinity of military bases that are under construction, the inhabitants of which are obligated to provide food and to work on their construction. Those who were driven from North Vietnam either by deceit or force and found themselves without the means for existence, are also transferred to such settlements.

The government of South Vietnam is striving to represent the construction of airfields, ports and highways, and the creation of agricultural settlements as being needed for economic development. It is necessary to compare just a few figures to clearly understand the incongruity of such an assertion. Expenditures for the construction of three strategic highways (Saigon-Bien Hoa, Nos. 19 and 21) came to almost four billion dong, and the expenditures for the construction of an airfield at Ban Me Thuot came to 22,000,000 dong, whereas the budget of the Ministry of Economy for 1958 amounted to only 115,000,000 dong, and the budget for the Agricultural Cooperation

Administration came to approximately 2,000,000 dong.

It is known that after the signing of the Geneva agreements concerning Indochina, the USA organized an aggressive military block called SEATO. Even though South Vietnam is not yet an official member, military construction within the country is proceeding in accordance with the overall plan of that block for the past several years.

All the military preparations which are being conducted by the American imperialists and by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique serve as evidence of the fact that the USA aspires to turn South Vietnam into one of the most important military bases to support its domination of Southeast Asia. The USA imports (as "aid") all types of stale commodities into South Vietnam, completely disregarding the demands of the population and the requirements of the economy. The flooding of the market with industrial products from the USA leads to the deterioration of a number of branches of industry (such as the textile and the sugar industries) and is particularly detrimental to the handicraft industry. This in turn results in increased unemployment. There are over 500,000 people in the large cities who are completely without any means for existence.

The USA also imports food into South Vietnam (rice, corn, eggs, coconuts, dried fish, dried betel), despite the fact that many of these goods are produced within the country in sufficient volume and may be exported. The establishment of low compulsory prices for agricultural products, high rent and interest charges, the growing tax burden, repressions against the population, which prevent it from peacefully engaging in productive labor, the recent drought--all this led to a situation where certain areas of South Vietnam (formerly having an abundance of rice) are experiencing a shortage of food.

The living standard of the population is very low; purchasing power dropped by 70%. Since the American commodities do not sell, the South Vietnam government experiences a constant lack of funds and is forced to pay its soldiers partly in goods, which are received as American aid: wheat flour, condensed milk, canned meat and so on.

The life of the people is very difficult. The workers are continually threatened by unemployment. They may either be fined, driven to perform forced labor or to join the army, subjected to repressions or blackmailed. Crime is increasing in the country, there are more robberies, hooliganism, murder and suicides; prostitution and poverty are also increasing. Despite the fact that the Americans and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique have imposed the strictest censorship, articles reflecting the people's dissatisfaction still appear in the press. The newspaper Thy Zo wrote this in July of 1958: "Everyone, from workers to employees to traders and people of the free professions see that the existing situation is most unreliable....The people feel that they are on the verge of a catastrophe....Everyone knows that this is a dead end."

The interference by American imperialists in the affairs of South Vietnam and the policy that they are conducting brought boundless misfortune to the people. Neither lies nor demagoguery can conceal that. In order to raise the international prestige of the Ngo Dinh Diem government, the American masters are trying to represent South Vietnam as an independent country, having its own national assembly, constitution and army and carrying out an independent foreign policy.

The Ngo Dinh Diem clique, which calls itself a national-revolutionary government, along with cruel repressions plays up to the population: it propagandizes the idea of cooperation among classes, conducts an agrarian reform, a program designed to restore the economy, a Five Year Plan, a struggle against the four evils, a program to restore culture in East Asia and so on. All of these well broadcast, but empty slogans cannot confuse the masses of people.

Terror and Repressions in South Vietnam.

The American imperialists entrenched themselves in the southern part of the country at the time when the Vietnamese people attained victory in the War of Resistance, when the movement for national independence, democracy and peace in all countries of Southeast Asia achieved an unprecedented scope. The aspiration of the inhabitants of South Vietnam for peace, unity, independence and democracy is growing stronger with every day. The anti-national policy of the government encounters determined opposition. In order to retain its power, the American-Ngo Dinh Diem clique reverts to terrorism and cruelly suppresses the patriotic movement. Hiding behind the slogan "Struggle against the communists and the exposure of communists," it subjects our countrymen with mass repressions, arrests, torture and murders. Cruel tortures are used in South Vietnam: ears are cut off, eyes are gouged.

Even though peace was restored in the country, the population of South Vietnam continues to live under the threat of death and poverty.

Starting with 1954 troops have been used for punishing the population in areas left by the People's Army. Conditions of siege are usually instituted in those areas followed by arrests, beatings and tortures. People are shot without trial. In certain areas "combing" operations continue for a year. The American-Ngo Dinh Diem clique appointees misuse their powers without retribution, perform acts of revenge, robbery, extort money, arrest the citizens and ridicule them. After punishing the population in one area the troops move to another area. All this creates an atmosphere in the South Vietnam village which differs very little from war time conditions. This particularly applies to regions where the Ngo Dinh Diem people are expanding airfields and building strategic roads. In the townships of Dong Hyng Thuan, Chung Mi They of the Hok Mon rural area in the province of Zya Ding they prohibit the inhabitants

to leave their homes at night and to gather in groups of more than three people, conduct searches, and interrogate all strangers. Sometimes the region is visited by cadets from the Quang Chun military school for "training" purposes; they maltreat the population. The inhabitants are compelled to build shelters in every house in order to protect themselves from possible fire.

Former participants of the War of Resistance and their families are under special surveillance. Tens of thousands were arrested, and either deported or confined in concentration camps. The families of those workers and military personnel, who as a result of the regrouping of the troops found themselves in North Vietnam, are driven from their homesteads. 121 dwellings belong to families of those who participated in the War of Resistance were burned in the western region of Nam Po during the migration.

The population of cities is also subjected to cruel repressions. Tens of thousands of families are evicted from the workers' sectors and sent away to work on the construction of military bases or for the building of agricultural settlements. The young people are forced into the army.

The Ngo Dinh Diem clique disregards all democratic freedoms. The press is strictly controlled. Any newspaper daring to appear with criticism of the existing regime is prosecuted. During the period from 1954 until the middle of 1959 over 30 newspapers were closed down and the editorial offices of the Tien Thu and Tkhoy Luan newspapers were destroyed. Progressive journalists who dare to tell the truth about South Vietnam are subjected to repressions. 13 journalists from six newspapers, who were arrested in March of 1957 were declared to be pro-communist elements. In July of 1960 the Ngo Dinh Diem government arrested a large group of professors, journalists, lawyers and doctors.

An anti-democratic constitution is in effect in South Vietnam. In addition to that the American-Ngo Dinh Diem clique issued a number of special laws: pertaining to concentration camps, measures directed against a democratic press, the creation of extraordinary military tribunals and so on.

Since the end of 1958 the terrorism in South Vietnam has intensified. The number of prisons and concentration camps increased. In Phuyen Province there are some 109 of them. The American imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique revert to methods of extreme cruelty. Over 6,000 persons were poisoned at the Phy Loi concentration camp, over a thousand persons died and several thousand became seriously ill. These people ended up in the concentration camp merely because they loved freedom and peace, for the fact that they were struggling for the independence and unity of the Homeland. They were inhumanly tortured, but even that did not break the fighters' will, and then they were poisoned. This unheard of crime gave rise to a wave of protest in Vietnam.

The regions which formerly contained resistance bases--provinces of Thudaumot, Thainguyen, Hatien, Zhatzya, Bac Lieu, Cammao,

Kanhua, Bentre, Quangngai, and in the mountain regions of the Pa To, Son Xa, Cha Wong of the Quangngai Province, as well as at Chung Bo-- the South Vietnam government conducts real military operations with the participation of regiments and divisions of the regular army, which comb the area and shell villages. Heavy artillery and bombers are used in such operations. It is known that all these operations are conducted under the direct supervision of American officers, specifically under that of General Williams who heads the American military group in South Vietnam, Colonel Leyster and others. 100 persons were wounded and 73 killed at U Minh (western Nam Po), which is called an "isolated military district," between 14 February and 15 April 1959. The troops arrest and torture even children. "Black shirt," "striped shirt," and "yellow shirt" police detachments operate in the villages, in addition to "civil defense detachments," which burn homes, rob, rape and murder the inhabitants.

Attempting to hide their crimes and to fool public opinion, the South Vietnam government keeps referring to the communist threat.

A law pertaining to the organization of extraordinary military tribunals was issued in October of 1959, which have jurisdiction over persons accused of acts designed to "violate existing order." The conviction is executed within three days after the order to arrest a "criminal" is issued, without any investigation. Two types of punishment are stipulated: a death sentence or life imprisonment at forced labor, without chance of appeal. This fascist law is directed against the democratic elements, which stand for the independence of the country, and against the patriots, who do not want to resign themselves to the regime of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

The command of the People's Army of the DRV on more than one occasion appealed to the International Supervisory and Control Commission at Vietnam with protests concerning infiltrations by military personnel and the illegal importation of military material into South Vietnam and the prosecution directed against the former participants of the War of Resistance. Despite all obstacles put forth by the South Vietnam government, the International Commission still pointed out 53 instances of violation of Articles 16 and 17 of the Geneva agreements, which prohibit the importation of military personnel and military supplies into South Vietnam, 42 instances of violation of Article 14s, which prohibits the prosecution of former participants of the War of Resistance and 38 instances of violation of the demilitarized zone. The International Commission reported to two representatives of the Geneva conference that in 1,357 other instances of violation of Article 14s, the South Vietnam government refused to cooperate with the commission.

The policy of terror and repression, which is conducted by the American imperialists and by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, results in hate by the population and prompts the masses of people to engage in a more decisive struggle for their liberation from slavery.

The Struggle of the Population of North Vietnam for a Unification of the Country.

The Vietnamese people understand the need for a peaceful resolution of the problem pertaining to a unification of the country. It responds to the vital interests and the fervent aspirations of the entire people, as well as to the demands for peace and progress, democracy and socialism throughout the world. While Vietnam is split, while the American imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique are masters in the south, peace in the country and peaceful construction in its northern part are under a threat.

Vietnam is a single country and the Vietnamese people are a single people. It is therefore interested in the strengthening of North Vietnam and in its successful progress along the path towards socialism, as well as in the continuation of the struggle for the liberation of South Vietnam and for the unification of the country on a basis of independence and democracy. The American imperialists and their lackeys, which seized power in South Vietnam, are enemies of the entire people. Sharp contradictions exist not only between the American-Ngo Dinh Diem clique and the population of South Vietnam, but also between it and the entire Vietnamese people.

One of the contradictions which must be resolved by the Vietnamese revolution during the present stage is the contradiction between the imperialists, feudal landlords and the merchant bourgeoisie which dominates South Vietnam on the one hand, and the entire Vietnamese people on the other hand (i.e. with the population of South and North Vietnam). To achieve unification of the country on a basis of independence and democracy--that is the common goal of all the people.

On that basis the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Vietnam pointed out that the basic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution at the present time consist of a realization of a socialist revolution in North Vietnam and a national people's democratic revolution in South Vietnam. This means that it is necessary "to strengthen the solidarity of the people, to conduct a determined struggle for the consolidation of peace and the unification of the country on a basis of independence and democracy, to culminate the people's democratic revolution throughout the country, to strengthen the power of North Vietnam, to build a peaceful, unified, independent and a democratic Vietnam, and thereby to make a contribution to the matter of defending peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world."

The DRV is a stronghold of the movement for peace throughout the country. The faster its economy and culture develop the sooner will the living standards of the population improve and the country's defensive powers become stronger, and the more active and determined will our countrymen be in the south in their struggle against the American-Ngo Dinh Diem regime.

We should dwell on those errors which were committed during

the period of the building of socialism in North Vietnam, namely: a slackening of attention towards problems pertaining to the national-democratic revolution in South Vietnam, a gap between the socialist revolution in the North and the national-democratic revolution in the south. It is also incorrect to consider the opinion that the socialist revolution is significant only with respect to the north. This serves as evidence of an insufficiently profound understanding of the question concerning the unity of the country. Our party must propagandize the study of problems of socialism among the population of North Vietnam, and educate it in the spirit of a profound hate towards the American-Ngo Dinh Diem clique. The more the population of North Vietnam realizes that its peaceful labor is a contribution towards the liberation of the Homeland, the greater will its enthusiasm be, and its feeling of responsibility and revolutionary vigilance.

The successes attained in economic and cultural construction in the DRV exert a truly great influence on the revolutionary movement in the southern part of the country; they strengthen the combined revolutionary forces and the faith of the population of South Vietnam in the new order, and activate its struggle for the unification of the country. These successes illuminate the total incongruity of the slanderous fabrications of the American-Ngo Dinh Diem government.

North Vietnam is struggling against the terror and mass murders that are taking place in South Vietnam; it constantly protests the violations of the Geneva agreements that are committed by the South Vietnam government. A widespread movement occurred in North Vietnam in connection with the events which took place at Phy Loi and because of the "combing" operations that are conducted in certain areas. The demonstrations protesting the murders that took place at Phy Loi included the participation of over 2,000,000 persons over a short period of time. Over 800 delegations of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, members of cultural and art organizations, and representatives from various layers of industry and trade forwarded resolutions to the International Commission, condemning the crimes committed by the American-Ngo Dinh Diem clique and demanding an immediate investigation.

Artistic and cultural workers created hundreds of paintings, and musical and poetic works over a short period of time, which are filled with hate towards the ones guilty of this unparalleled crime, and permeated with a feeling of sorrow and love for our countrymen, who are suffering at the hands of the base executioners. Students walked tens of kilometers in order to pass their resolutions to the local groups of the International Commission. The faithful visited the pagodas and churches in order to pray for the souls of those who were killed. Every person in North Vietnam was eager to revenge his countrymen who were poisoned at Phy Loi. Over a period of several days some 3,523,612 signatures were gathered on a statement of protest. The words of various slogans had an angry

ring: "Down with the American-Ngo Dinh Diem Clique," "Revenge for Phy Loi," "Stop the Bloody Executioners."

Vietnamese citizens living abroad are watching the progress being made by the DRV with great interest. All the political movements in North Vietnam are widely supported by them. Students from North and South Vietnam, who have been studying abroad, return to North Vietnam and enthusiastically participate in the building of a new life.

Therefore the multilateral consolidation of the DRV and its transformation into a stronghold of the struggle for unification of the country responds to the desires of the entire Vietnamese people.

The Struggle of the People of South Vietnam Against the American-Ngo Dinh Diem Regime.

The population of South Vietnam is actively struggling for the overthrow of the American-Ngo Dinh Diem regime. The stronger and better developed the patriotic movement, the more rapid will be the expansion of the revolutionary forces, which are capable of interfering with the execution of the reactionary policy that splits the country. The patriotic movement in the south is one of the conditions required for a successful realization of a socialist revolution in North Vietnam. In defending its common every day economic interests the population of South Vietnam must clearly understand the significance of the struggle against the aggressive policy carried out by the American-Ngo Dinh Diem clique, against plans for involving South Vietnam into the Southeast Asia military block and against violations of the Geneva agreements.

Since the time peace was restored and until the present time the struggle in South Vietnam continues. Its population stands for peace and unification, against war mongering and a division of the country; it stands for independence and democracy; it is against a cruel policy of oppression; it is for an improvement in the life of the population and against the pilfering of the country.

A comprehensive political movement for the execution of the Geneva agreements occurred in South Vietnam after the restoration of peace, a movement for the convocation of consultative conferences, against the referendum and the elections carried out by the "national assembly." Millions of people were involved in this movement--inhabitants of cities, villages and mountain regions. It assumed various forms: meetings and demonstrations involving thousands of persons were organized, strikes were carried out, resolutions were adopted, leaflets and billboards were distributed, and trading on the markets was stopped.

The population of South Vietnam actively stands against the campaign of "exposing the communists" that is promulgated by the Ngo Dinh Diem government. Prosecution of the former participants of the War of Resistance, repressive actions against patriots, the

"exposure of communists"--all this brings forth an indignant and angry reaction from the people.

The population of South Vietnam wishes peace and does not want to be cannon fodder for the American imperialists, and therefore it expresses its protest against compulsory military service and mobilization into the army. This widespread movement has a political tint for it exposes the aggressive plans of the American-Ngo Dinh Diem clique.

The position of the proletariat in South Vietnam is deteriorating with every day. Despite the fact that the South Vietnam government attempts to suppress workers' movements and dissolve the trade union organizations, the workers do not cease struggling and demand an increase in wages, an improvement in the working conditions, a revocation of the system of dismissals and so on. The proletariat is an organizer of anti-government movements. During the May 1st celebrations in 1957, 1958 and 1959 almost a half million workers from the cities took part in meetings and demonstrations, which took place under slogans proclaiming a peaceful unification of the country.

The peasants' movement for land started a short period of time after the restoration of peace. It spread to all the rural regions of South Vietnam. The victory of the August Revolution and the termination of the War of Resistance provided the peasants of the DRV with democratic freedoms and rights for land, but after the country was divided the peasants of South Vietnam lost these rights and therefore launched a determined struggle for their bowl of rice, and a plot of land. The frequency with which the South Vietnam government drives them from their land intensifies the struggle.

The movement directed against the predatory policy conducted by the American-Ngo Dinh Diem clique also attracts the participation of the national bourgeoisie which expresses its dissatisfaction of the existing regime and asserts its stand against American aid and the practice of flooding the country with foreign commodities.

The anti-national policy of the government of the government of South Vietnam gives rise to a feeling of indignance among all segments of the population, with the exception of a small group of persons associated with the reactionary regime. Even though the American-Ngo Dinh Diem clique does everything possible to destroy the patriotic movement, it continues to grow and becomes stronger.

The population of South Vietnam has only one path towards liberation--that of pooling its strength. The culmination of the Vietnamese revolution along can bring to an end the poverty and misery of the people, and cause the disintegration of the policy of enslavement and division of the country.

The Support Extended by the Peaceloving People of the World Towards the Struggle of the Vietnamese People for a Unification of the Country.

The victory won by the Vietnamese revolution is conducive to

a further growth of the forces of the socialist camp. The consolidation of the forces of the socialist camp, in turn, exerts a tremendous influence on the revolutionary movement in Vietnam. The unification of the country on a basis of independence and democracy is primarily an internal problem of Vietnam, but at the same time it is part of the overall problem--the struggle between the socialist and the imperialist camps.

The Workers' Party of Vietnam conducts a policy designed to strengthen peace and to bring about the peaceful unification of the country, which corresponds to the political policy of the entire socialist camp.

The Vietnamese people are receiving extensive assistance from their fraternal countries of the socialist system, headed by the Soviet Union. The socialist countries endorse the struggle of the Vietnamese people for a peaceful unification of the country. They actively strive for the execution of the Geneva agreements. The Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic participated in the Geneva conference. The Polish People's Republic, one of the members of the Supervisory and Control Commission made a substantial contribution to the struggle for the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements.

The assistance extended by brotherly countries is an inspiration to the workers of North Vietnam, and is of great significance in the activation of a patriotic movement in the southern part of the country. The continued and rapid growth in the power of the countries of the socialist camp reinforces the faith of the Vietnamese people in their own strength and prompts them to engage in a determined struggle against the policy of intervention in the affairs of their country.

The Vietnamese people realize that the solidarity of the socialist camp is a guarantee of peace and of a victory of socialism throughout the world, including Vietnam. Therefore it is interested in strengthening the socialist camp.

Each victory of the national-liberation movement and the movements for peace and democracy undermine the forces of imperialism and are conducive to a development of the Vietnamese revolution. The Vietnamese people profoundly endorse the struggle waged by all those who are oppressed and primarily the struggle of the peoples of Cambodia and Laos against colonialism, and for national independence. Vietnam, Lao and Cambodia, which have common borders, are parties who signed the Geneva agreements, bear the responsibility for their fulfillment.

The movement of the Vietnamese people for the unification of their Homeland enjoys the support of the peoples throughout the world. Progressive world opinion in various resolutions and statements of international conferences condemns the policy of terror and repressions which is carried out by the American imperialists and by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique in South Vietnam, and demand a strict adherence to the Geneva agreements. Among such documents it is

necessary to point out the resolution adopted by a conference held by the Association of Lawyers From the Countries of Asia and Africa at Damascus (November 1957), a resolution by the International Association of Jurists-Democrats, also adopted at the same conference, a resolution by the 7th Session of the World Peace Council, which took place at Colombo in June of 1957, a resolution made by a group of representatives from Asian and African countries that participated in the work of the World Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation at Stockholm (June 1958), an announcement of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth at Colombo, a resolution by the Cairo Conference of the Peoples of Asia and Africa (December 1957), and the resolution adopted by a session of the World Peace Council at Stockholm (May 1959) on the problems pertaining to the countries of Asia and Africa.

The support of world public opinion was particularly intensive during the campaign against mass murders perpetrated at Phu Loi. Not only the governments and the peoples of the brotherly socialist countries, but a number of international organizations, representing the will of millions of people, particularly the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Democratic Womens' Federation, the International Student Union, the International Association of Jurists and many others, all condemned the crimes committed by American imperialists and by the Ngo Dinh Diem clique and demanded immediate cessation of the inhuman murders. The Committee on Solidarity Among the Countries of Asia and Africa, which represented 40 countries on those continents, unanimously approved a resolution that sharply condemned the interference by American imperialists into the affairs of South Vietnam and insisted on the fulfillment of the Geneva agreements. The Conference of the Youth of the Countries of Asia and Africa, which included the participation of representatives from 52 countries and five international organizations, also adopted a resolution protesting the murders at Phu Loi. 26 organizations in Indonesia angrily condemned the South Vietnam government. A similar announcement was made at the All-India Peace Council. The public of almost all countries of Asia and Africa, as well as that of many other countries of Europe--England, France, Finland, and others--warmly supported the struggle of the Vietnamese people.

On 4 July 1959 the Secretariat of the Committee on the Solidarity of the Countries of Asia and Africa appealed to the national committees of solidarity of the countries of Asia and Africa and to all the peaceloving peoples with a call to mark the 20th day of July (the fifth anniversary since the signing of the Geneva agreements) as the "Vietnam Day." The secretariat of the Committee on the Solidarity of the Countries of Asia and Africa also called on the peoples of all the countries to demand the removal of the American imperialists from Vietnam, a strict compliance with the Geneva agreements and the conduct of free general elections.

The stand of world public opinion strengthens the determination of the Vietnamese people to struggle for a unification of the country on a democratic basis. The people of Vietnam understand that their interests are closely intertwined with those of all the peaceloving peoples, and therefore they extend their wholehearted support of the struggle for national independence and against colonialism and actively participate in the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

The Vietnamese people feel that their struggle for the unification of the country, which they are conducting under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Vietnam, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, will culminate in certain victory.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE DRV--A POLICY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP AMONG THE PEOPLES

by Ung-van-Khiem

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a component part of the world socialist system, led by the Soviet Union. The foreign policy of the DRV, just as that of the other socialist countries, is based on the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of the two different social systems.

In its diplomatic activity our people's democratic government bases itself on the necessity to regulate all international disputes and conflicts by peaceful means, of supporting and consolidating peace, and developing friendship and cooperation among the peoples.

From the very first days of its existence the DRV consistently conducts a peaceloving foreign policy. A communique of the temporary government of the DRV dates 3 October 1945 clearly outlined the course of the foreign policy of the republic. "The government of the DRV," stated the communique, "is resolved to conduct a foreign policy that would closely pursue the attainment of a complete independence of our country....The DRV sincerely wishes to develop friendship and cooperation with all the countries of the world on a basis of equality and mutual assistance in the name of building a lasting peace throughout the world."

Several months after the establishment of the people's government, however, the French colonizers supported by the British army, again initiated aggressive actions in South Vietnam. They organized provocations at Saigon and armed clashes in many areas of the Nampo Province. In the north the Chian Kai-shek troops, which arrived allegedly to disarm the Japanese fascists, attempted to overthrow the people's government and to appoint their own people. Under these conditions the government of the DRV signed a preliminary agreement with the government of France on 6 March 1946. In accordance with that agreement France recognized Vietnam as a free government, and the DRV gave its permission for French troops to replace the Chian Kai-shek army. Thereby the young republic won some time and acquired the possibility to consolidate the people's democratic government.

The French colonizers, however, violated the 6 of March agreement: they continued their offense in the south and arranged provocations in North Vietnam. The position occupied by them during the negotiations at Dalat and Fontainbleau, led to a

breakdown in the negotiations. Despite that, due to the efforts of the government of the DRV, a temporary agreement was signed on 14 September 1946. But the colonizers were not satisfied. They did their utmost to complicate the situation in the country, threatened the independence of the DRV, destroyed densely inhabited regions of Langshon, Mongkay, Thien-yien, Haiphong and the city region of Yenning in Hanoi.

On 6, 15, 18 and 19 of December 1946--four times over a period of one week, President Ho Chi Minh appealed to the National Assembly of the DRV and the French government "in the interests of the people of France and the people of Vietnam, to issue cease fire order, to bring to an end the provocations and to prevent further blood letting." The government of the DRV attempted to prevent war by all possible means, considering that a peaceful settlement of the conflict was possible. The colonizers, however, did not want to stop occupying Vietnam. The responsibility for war is fully that of the French government.

In that situation the Vietnamese people found themselves facing a dilemma: to either submit to the enemy and again become slaves, or to struggle to the end in the name of freedom and independence. "No! The Vietnamese national will never again bear the yoke of slavery. It would rather perish than lose its independence and freedom!"--these fervent words spoken by President Ho Chi Minh expressed the determination of the entire people to fight until a victorious culmination.

In accordance with an order issued by Ho Chi Minh, all Vietnamese citizens, regardless of sex, age, religious beliefs, or national and party affiliations, rallied in a struggle against the French colonizers, to save their Homeland. The sacred War of Resistance began--a war that was hard and long.

That was a difficult period for the republic. The people's government was just created, the army was young and poorly armed. As a result of the 80 year domination by the French colonizers, and the five year war, the country's economy was destroyed, the treasury was exhausted. As far as the international position of the DRV is concerned, the republic was surrounded by reactionary forces. Under these exceptionally difficult circumstances the people and the government of the DRV were compelled to wage a struggle against an army of the French colonizers, an army that was well equipped, and commanded by experienced officers who were well acquainted with military tactics and with the possible theaters of action in Vietnam. The French colonizers were assisted by the British, and as of 1947, by the American imperialists.

The remarkable national traditions of the struggle for liberation, revolutionary enthusiasm, heroism and self sacrifice by the masses--all that permitted the Vietnamese people to carry out the slogan of the Workers' Party of Vietnam: "The entire people must unite in order to wage a prolonged War of Resistance with their own forces."

During the first year of the war the People's Army dealt a serious blow at the enemy in Viet Bakh. During the autumn and winter of 1947 it became clear that the plans of the French colonizers, who were counting on a very short war, collapsed. The movement for an increased production and for a consolidation of the rear areas was developing in the country; the partisan struggle was activized and the enemy was dealt continued blows. During the autumn-winter campaign of 1950 a victory was won on the Vietnamese-Chinese border. This allowed an expansion and strengthening of the bases at Viet Bakh, to establish direct communication between Vietnam and the New China and with other countries from the camp of peace and democracy. A significant portion of the enemy's force was destroyed during the battles at Hoa Binh (end of 1951) and Thai Bac (end of 1952), as well as in a number of battles in various sectors of the front on South Vietnam. Partisans were active in these rear areas, which undermined the enemy's plan to "use the Vietnamese against the Vietnamese."

Despite the active assistance extended by the imperialists of the USA, the power of the French occupation forces was melting, the personnel and material losses by the colonizers were very great. The people of France and the people of the world were demonstrating their opposition to the unjust war in Indochina.

The people and the government of the DRV aspired to stop the war, but only on the condition that France respect the independence, unity, sovereignty and territorial entity of Vietnam. President Ho Chi Minh on more than one occasion offered to start peace negotiations. In an appeal by the president to the government, the National Assembly and to the people of France of 22 December 1946, he wrote: "We desire only independence and unity. We do not want war, but we are quite determined to defend our homeland to the last drop of blood...." On 8 January 1947 he once again called on the government of France to find suitable means to restore peace. On 25 April 1947 the government of the DRV offered to sign a peace and to start negotiations in order to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict, in its official message to the French government of 25 April 1947. During the War of Resistance Ho Chi Minh made 17 similar appeals. In answering questions put to him by foreign correspondents Ho Chi Minh more than once stressed the peaceful aspirations of the Vietnamese people.

The colonizers, however, remained silent. More than that, during the meeting between President Ho Chi Minh and Paul Muir, representative of the Chief French Commissioner in Indochina, on the night of 12 May 1947, Paul Muir blatantly announced that peace will be possible only if the Vietnamese army surrenders all its arms to the French, and the French army acquires the right of free movement and deployment throughout Vietnam. These demands were of course unacceptable. The French tried to use any excuse to break off the negotiations; they refused to consider rational and acceptable offers of peace by the government of the DRV. They returned

Bao Dai to the country in order to establish a puppet government there and to carry out their treacherous plot: to utilize Vietnamese in a struggle against their countrymen. The French colonizers and the imperialists of the USA were the ones most guilty for prolonging the war, which resulted in great casualties and destruction.

The armed war waged by the Vietnamese people was an active form of the defense of peace. It was a just war for independence and democracy. It is for that reason that it aroused the entire population of the country from the south to the north, unified the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and brought forth a warm response and widespread support from the people of socialist countries, the countries of Asia and Africa, the people of France and from all those who were for peace. That is why the Vietnamese people kept on winning new victories, and the position of the DRV on the international arena was constantly becoming consolidated.

On 26 January 1953, answering questions posed by correspondents from the Swedish newspaper Expressen, President Ho Bhi Minh, once again stated: "If the government of France, after taking into consideration the lessons learned during the several years of war, would like to conclude peace in Vietnam and to resolve the Vietnamese problem by peaceful means, then the people and the government of the DRV are ready to examine its offers." The third session of the National Assembly of the DRV held in the latter part of 1953 adopted a resolution, suggested by the government, which stated the necessity of "maintaining a path open for negotiations in order to resolve any international conflict in order to attain a decrease in world tension."

The victories won by the Vietnamese army, particularly the historic victory at Dien Bien Phu, as a result of which over 15,000 hand picked enemy soldiers were killed, as well as the large scale movement against the war of occupation which developed in France and in the countries of Asia and Africa and in many other countries of the world, compelled the French government to start negotiations concerning the Indochinese problem at the Geneva conference in 1954.

In his first speech at the Geneva conference the representative of the DRV stated: "The people and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam...are prepared to settle the problem pertaining to the restoration of peace in Indochina on the basis of a recognition of the national rights of the people of Indochina by means of negotiations--on the basis of national unity, independence, and democratic freedoms, thereby establishing conditions necessary for the restoration of friendly relations among the peoples of Indochina and France on a basis of equality and mutual interests. That is the path which assures the restoration of a stable and lasting peace in Indochina under conditions of justice and honor, the only path, which will truly assure peace and the security of the countries of Southeast Asia and which will be conducive to a lessening of world tension and to a support and consolidation of peace throughout the world." / See Note./

Note Pravda (Truth), 11 May 1954.

Despite all the efforts of the American imperialists to disrupt the work of the conference, the delegation from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, along with the delegations of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic attained a successful solution of the Indochinese problem. Cease fire agreements were signed on 20 July 1954 on a basis of the recognition of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial entity of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. This forced the French colonizers to cease their aggressive action. The imperialists of the USA were obliged to stop their intrigues designed to prolong and expand the war. The nine year long War of Resistance was successfully culminated, the peaceful foreign policy of the DRV won a great victory. This was also a victory of the countries of the socialist camp, the peoples of Asia and Africa, the French people and of all the forces of peace throughout the world. The acceptance of the Geneva agreements on the Indochinese problem was a brilliant success of the policy of resolving any international problem by means of peaceful negotiations, a policy common to the entire socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union.

After the restoration of peace a new stage of the Vietnamese revolution started. The entire Vietnamese people joined in a determined struggle for the preservation of peace, the unification of the country, and the attainment of total independence and democracy throughout the entire territory. The DRV needed peace, to enable it to start building socialism in the northern part of the country, after healing its wounds, to make their country stronger and to transform it into a reliable base of the struggle for a unification of Vietnam. At the present time, as before, the government of the DRV conducts a foreign policy in the interest of peace, independence and democracy. It strictly adheres to the decisions of the Geneva conference on the Indochinese problem, and cooperates with the International Commission. The American imperialists and their lackeys--the Ngo Dinh Diem government--in striving to make the division of the country permanent and to turn South Vietnam into an American colony of a new type--into a military-strategic area--keep sabotaging the execution of the decisions of the Geneva conference. The government of the DRV made several appeals to the International Commission, to two representatives of the Geneva conference and to world public opinion concerning the terrorist acts committed by the South Vietnam government involving the patriots, the adherents of peace, and the former participants of the War of Resistance concerning the increasing militarization of South Vietnam and other factors.

The government of the DRV, just as all the other peaceloving peoples and governments of Southeast Asia, decisively condemns the aggressive military SEATO block, which is an instrument of the American imperialists in the matter of suppressing the national-liberation movement and in creating a threat to peace and security

in that area of the world.

The Vietnamese people and the government of the DRV along with all the socialist countries stand for the defense of peace throughout the world. Since the birth of the movement for peace our people, who at that time were still engaged in a war against the French colonizers and American interventionists, actively endorsed that movement, understanding very well that the War of Resistance is a component part of the overall struggle for peace and a war against the imperialist war mongers. The Vietnamese people together with the people of the entire world decisively condemn the aggressive policy of American imperialism, the "cold war" policy, the arms race policy, the creation of military blocks and bases in other countries, the over armament of the West German militarists and the Japanese militarists, and the preparations for a new world war.

In that struggle the DRV always sides with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and with other socialist countries. It warmly welcomes any initiative and any effort on behalf of the government of the USSR, designed to lessen international tension. The Vietnamese people and the government of the DRV, just as the people and the governments of other socialist countries, insist on an immediate cessation of tests involving nuclear and atomic weapons, which must be the first step towards a total prohibition of the production and utilization of all types of weapons for the mass destruction of people; it wholly shares the position assumed by the Soviet Union with regard to the German questions, it especially supports the demands for a liquidation of the Berlin occupation and the signing of a peace treaty with Germany. The Vietnamese people approve the offers made by the Soviet Union, Poland and other socialist countries of Eastern Europe concerning the creation of a non-nuclear zone and a signing of an agreement among all the countries of the region concerning collective security in Europe, as well as the suggestion by the USSR concerning the creation of a non-nuclear zone in the Pacific Ocean and the joint offer made by the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic concerning the signing of a collective security agreement among the countries located in that zone. Along with all the peaceloving peoples and governments of the countries of Asia, the people and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are conducting a tireless struggle for the creation and expansion of the "peace zone" in Asia.

The government of the DRV consistently stands for a peaceful coexistence among the countries with differing social systems, and for a wide scale cooperation among countries in the field of economy and culture.

A firm basis for the foreign policy conducted by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a consolidation of its ties with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and with other countries of the socialist camp.

During the difficult years of the War of Resistance the

Vietnamese people saw the Soviet Union as a stronghold of peace and socialism. At the very beginning of the war several Vietnamese delegations, travelling over great distances, and surmounting considerable difficulties, visited the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and other countries. Everywhere they encountered support and a readiness to extend assistance to Vietnam.

After the victory of the Chinese revolution the Democratic Republic of Vietnam became a neighbor of the Chinese People's Republic and established direct ties with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries through it. On 18 January 1950 the government of the Chinese People's Republic and on 31 January 1950 the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics officially recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. After that the other socialist countries also expressed their readiness to establish diplomatic relations with us. Marking that historic event, the government of the DRV appealed to the people with a call which stated: "This is a great honor for us....This is a great victory over the forces of international imperialist reaction, a victory in the struggle for peace and democracy." The recognition of the DRV by countries of the socialist camp inspired the Vietnamese people towards the successful continuation of the War of Resistance and helped the young republic to occupy its just place in the international arena. The government of the DRV established its embassies in China (1951) and in the Soviet Union (1952) and sent delegations of deputies of the National Assembly to China and Korea. The Vietnamese delegations also visited other fraternal countries.

The ties between the DRV and the various countries of the socialist camp are growing stronger with every day. In a report at the fourth session of the National Assembly, which took place in March of 1955, Pham-van-Dong, the deputy prime minister, stated: "We continue to consolidate friendly relations with the fraternal countries, and struggle for peace along with them. We are constantly developing economic and cultural ties with those countries. By relying on the technical assistance extended by the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic and by other fraternal countries and by studying the progressive experience acquired by them, we are restoring the economy and are conducting state construction." The first year after the restoration of peace in Vietnam, the governments of the fraternal countries sent their ambassadors to Hanoi. The government of the DRV, in turn, established its embassies in all the fraternal countries. In 1955 a government delegation from the DRV headed by President Ho Chi Minh visited the Soviet Union, China, and Mongolia. In 1957 President Ho Chi Minh visited the Korean People's Democratic Republic and various socialist countries in Eastern Europe. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was visited by K. Ye. Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet USSR; Chou En-lai, Premier of the Government Council of the People's Republic of China; as well as by government delegations from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, the German

Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of China and Mongolia. Such an exchange of visits are conducive to a strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the DRV and the other socialist countries. All of the combined announcements by the government of the DRV and the socialist governments, made during these visits, serve as evidence of the complete unanimity of opinion on all major international problems. The fraternal countries support the government of the DRV in its struggle for a peaceful unification of the country. Such support inspires the Vietnamese people and serves as an important contribution to the matter of defending peace in Vietnam and in all of Southeast Asia.

The DRV is against the attempts made by imperialists and revisionists to split the socialist camp, along with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. At the end of 1956 our government expressed its sympathy to the workers' and peasants' revolutionary Hungarian government, which suppressed the counter-revolutionary mutiny; it extended its assistance to Hungary in order to help it to restore normal conditions as soon as possible. It supports the Chinese People's Republic, which is struggling for a liberation of Taiwan, the Korean people in their struggle for a peaceful unification of the country and the German people who are demanding the re-unification of Germany on a basis of peace and democracy.

Economic and cultural ties between the DRV and other socialist countries are growing stronger. The Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries helped the DRV to quickly heal its war wounds. This support permits us to develop economy and culture, and to successfully fulfill the Three Year Plan for 1958-1960. The Vietnamese people value the unselfish assistance extended by the socialist countries that much more, after comparing it to the so-called "help" given by the Americans to the Ngo Dinh Diem government, which undermines the economy of South Vietnam, and which is designed to enslave our countrymen. It is permeated with a feeling of sincere gratitude to the people and the governments of the Soviet Union, China and other fraternal countries.

Trade relations between the DRV and the socialist countries are expanding. In 1958 the overall value of the commodities exported by the DRV to those countries increased by 62% as compared with 1955. At the present time the DRV maintains trade relations with all countries of the socialist camp and has signed long term agreements with many of them. In accordance with these agreements, based on principles of cooperation and mutual assistance, the socialist countries supply the DRV with equipment, raw material, materials, technological information, all of which are indispensable in the restoration and development of industry and agriculture. The fraternal countries buy our agricultural products, products of the mining industry and the handicraft industry and thereby promote a further development of production in Vietnam.

Over the past several years the volume of consumer goods

being imported from the socialist countries is constantly diminishing, whereas the importation of equipment, machinery, raw material and material is increasing (in 1955 they were almost equal, in 1957 they amounted to 28% and 72% respectively, and in 1960--approximately 11% and 89%). The DRV, as a socialist country situated in a tropical belt, exports those agricultural products and useful minerals that are found exclusively in such a region. Over 90% of the overall value of the exports and imports made by the DRV are with the socialist countries. This supports the foreign trade of Vietnam and protects it from the influence of imperialist powers, and therefore from the effect of economic crises. Clearly understanding the significance of such aid, the people and the government of the DRV will consider the future development of friendly contact with socialist countries as a basis for the expansion of the foreign trade policy of their country.

The cultural ties of the DRV with the socialist countries are expanding with each day.

The Vietnamese people had more than one occasion to admire the artistry of the fraternal countries and to acquaint them with their own culture. Agreements pertaining to a cultural exchange and scientific-technical cooperation were signed between the DRV, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The people and the government of the DRV will continue to develop these ties in the interest of furthering the economic and cultural construction in their country.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam has much in common with many countries of Asia and Africa. The Vietnamese people, just as many other people of these continents, suffered under the yoke of colonialism, and waged a struggle for their liberation. It is specifically for that reason that the Vietnamese people feel warmly sympathetic towards the people of the countries of Asia and Africa, and aspire to attain a lasting union with them in the common struggle for peace and national independence. The DRV actively participated in the Bandung Conference in 1955 and was helpful in its successful culmination. Along with the other governments of Asia and Africa we strive to preserve the "spirit of Bandung" and to strengthen the remarkable successes attained at that conference.

During the War of Resistance the Vietnamese people were supported by the people of various Southeast Asian countries, by the population of the French colonies and by other countries of Asia and Africa. It values such support very much and especially appreciates the contribution made by the great Indian people and by the government of India in the matter of consolidating the peace.

The Vietnamese people endorse the just struggle waged by the countries of Asia and Africa for peace and national independence. The government of the DRV on more than one occasion expressed its firm support of the Republic of Indonesia, and of the demands for the return of West Irian, as well as of the people of

the Arab countries of the Near and Middle East, who defended their independence and struggled against the aggressive actions by the imperialists of the USA, England and France. The DRV salutes the countries of Africa, which recently freed themselves from colonial oppression and started their progress along a path of free and independent life: Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan, Ghana, Guinea and other countries. The Vietnamese people consider that it is now time to liquidate colonialism, that shameful system, and announces its solidarity with the people and the Temporary Government of Algeria, with the Cuban people and with the people of Latin American, who are at the present time waging a heroic struggle for their complete independence.

The DRV aspires to develop cooperation and friendship with all the independent countries of Asia and Africa, particularly with the countries of Southeast Asia, on the basis of principles set forth by the Bandung conference. After the restoration of peace the DRV exchanged consulates with Indonesia and India and opened its consulate in Burma. The people and the government of the DRV warmly welcomed the Prime Minister Nehru of India and Prime Minister U-Nu of Burma (1955), as well as Prasada, the President of India, and Sukarno, the President of Indonesia (1959). President Ho Chi Minh, who visited India, Burma (1958) and Indonesia (1959), was warmly welcomed everywhere he went. Mutual visits made a substantial contribution towards a further consolidation of friendship among the people of these countries and the Vietnamese people.

The DRV established firm economic and cultural ties with India, Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, the United Arab Republic, and Iraq, and exchanges delegations with those countries. Ties are being established with the newly liberated countries of Africa. Guinea and the DRV established diplomatic relations and exchanged ambassadors. After the DRV recognized the Temporary Government of Algeria, Vietnam was visited by numerous governmental Algerian delegations.

Three countries, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, "jointly participated in the heroic War of Resistance, and jointly celebrated the return of peace and at the present time need to preserve and to strengthen that peace, in order to be able to take advantage of all the national rights that were recognized as theirs at the Geneva Conference." / See Note. / Therefore the government of the DRV devotes particular attention to the Kingdom of Cambodia and to the Kingdom of Laos in its foreign policy and expresses its desire to strengthen and develop friendly and good-neighbor relations with those countries on the basis of five principles of peaceful coexistence.

/ Note / Quoted from a report delivered by Pham-van-Dong to the 4th Session of the National Assembly of the DRV, which took place in March of 1955.

The people and the government of the DRV warmly welcome the policy of the Royal Government of Cambodia, carried out under the

guidance of Prince Hsianuk, and greatly value the contribution made by Cambodia to the matter of defending peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia and strive to develop mutually advantageous ties with it.

With regard to the Kingdom of Laos, the government of the DRV continues to adhere to a strict fulfillment of the Geneva agreements and carries out a policy respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial entity of that country.

Guiding itself with a principle of peaceful coexistence among the countries with different social systems, the government of the DRV strives to establish contact with all the countries of the world. In presenting a report to the 4th session of the National Assembly, Deputy Prime Minister Pham-van-Dong stated: "The foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is directed at an establishment of normal relations with all countries of the world on a basis of mutual respect, sovereignty, equal rights and mutual advantage. The government bases itself on the principle that countries with different social systems are capable of peaceful coexistence, and can resolve any international conflict by peaceful means, that they are also capable of decreasing international tension, of preserving and strengthening the peace, and of developing friendship and cooperation among the people."

The government of the DRV established relations not only with the socialist countries and with the independent countries of Asia and Africa. After the cease fire it on more than one occasion announced its readiness to establish multilateral ties with the French Republic on a basis of respect, sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit. The General Delegation of the French government is functioning at Hanoi. Many French cultural organizations continue to operate in North Vietnam. A trade agreement was signed between the two countries. The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam considers that the government of France is obligated to respect the decisions which it signed, and that it must bear the responsibility for the execution of the Geneva agreements on Indochina. The responsibility for a lack of normal relations between the DRV and the French Republic is solely that of the French government, which does not wish to show its good faith in the solution of the problem pertaining to the establishment of representative organs of the DRV in Paris. The government of the DRV will continue to insist on a recognition of the principle of equal rights.

The DRV maintains trade contacts with England. At the same time it demands that England, as one of the members of the Geneva Conference on Indochina, fulfill its obligations in that respect.

The DRV also established trade relations with certain Japanese companies. At the same time it decisively condemns the policy conducted by the ruling circles in Japan, which continue to ignore the legal rights of the DRV for reparations, which Japan pays out exclusively to the Ngo-Dinh-Diem clique.

The foreign policy of peace and friendship among the people, conducted by the DRV over a period of 15 years, brought many successes to the Vietnamese people. It was conducive to the victorious culmination of the War of Resistance, and at the present time to the struggle for the unification of the country and the building of socialism in North Vietnam, as well as to the consolidation of the position of the DRV on the international arena.

The people and the government of the DRV, along with the people and the governments of fraternal socialist countries, are filled with the determination to continue their strict adherence to this policy, and to intensify the struggle for a preservation and the strengthening of peace throughout the world, for the realization of the principles of a peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, for the creation of a system of collective security and for the development of a large scale economic and cultural cooperation among countries. The Vietnamese people believe that to be the best path towards the creation of a favorable international situation, that is necessary in their struggle for the preservation of peace, for the unification of the country and for the attainment of complete independence and democracy throughout all of Vietnam.